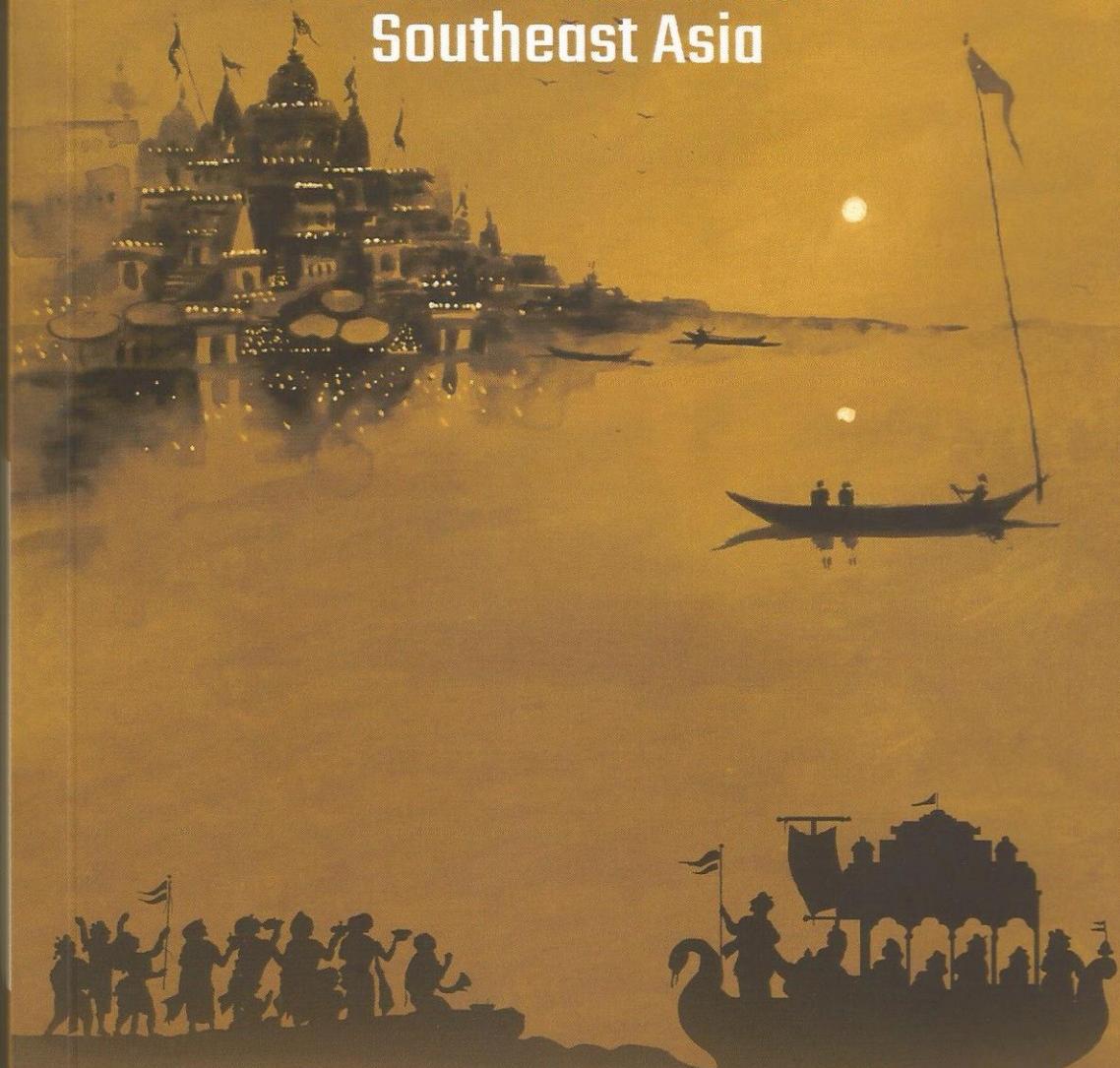




KALINGA

The Pioneer of Indianisation in
Southeast Asia



Bijay Kumar Swain

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AUTHORS P R E S S

Worldwide Circulation through Authorspress Global Network

First Published in 2024

by

Authorspress

Q-2A Hauz Khas Enclave, New Delhi-110 016 (India)

Phone: (0) 9818049852

E-mail: authorspressgroup@gmail.com

Website: www.authorspressbooks.com

Kalinga: The Pioneer of Indianisation in Southeast Asia

ISBN 978-93-5529-***_*

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Printed in India at Thomson Press (India) Limited

To
Our Grand Children
Anurag, Anupama
&
Anouhita

"If you don't look back at where you came from, you won't get to where you're going." -

- Timothy James M. Dimacali, 2018

Preface

I loved Kalinga, which I consider as my own, my native land.

In my child-hood we used to observe and participate in the rituals of “BOITA BANDANA”. After observing the month-long penance and propitiation of local deity in lunar month of ‘KARTIKA’ (October-November) people, in the early morning of full-moon day, gather near the sea-shores, river banks or the big ponds and float innumerable miniature boats made up of plantain tree sheath, or cork/paper with the intention to enact the historic voyages that their ancestors made to far-away lands with their ships (Boitasa).

We used to participate in ‘Khudurukuni’ or Bhalukuni’ ritual organised by our sisters on each Sunday evening of lunar month of *Bhadraba* (August-September) to worship Goddess Mangala. They sing the saga of ‘Taapoi’, the only daughter of a rich ‘*Sadharva*’ (merchants of Maritime fame) family, tortured by her sisters-in-law, when all her seven brothers were out on a voyage to distant islands for trade. She worshipped Goddess ‘Mangala’ for safe return of her brothers that would end her agony.

My wife even in her seventies continues to religiously observe this Khudurukuni ritual, worshiping Goddess Mangala and reciting the saga of *Sadharva* (maritime merchant) daughter ‘Taapoi’ each year in our home. She also observes the sailing of miniature boat on the full-moon day of Kartika as an ancestral tradition.

Such rituals excited my mind to know more about our ancestors, understand their heritage, search for, protect and preserve everything that belong to their history.

Later on when I read the accounts of actual voyages of European explorers of the modern age, it was difficult to perceive how in the early periods, the Kalinga merchants would have braved the perils of the sea and showed a spirit of adventure and exploration. But it seems that the perilous voyages of pioneers must have paid rich dividends to attract more and more traders by the lure of the gold, silver and spices for which the region was famous and therefore named *Suvarnadvipa*. Soon the *Sadharvas* (merchants) were

accompanied by workers, priests, warriors and Khsatriyas who settled in the new domain along with the original inhabitants. Such settlements grew into famous Indianised kingdoms and preserved records of their history in world famous monuments, inscriptions, religious literature, statue and figures now bedecking their museums.

It is really unfortunate that we do not have elaborate and detailed mention of the Indian cultural migration and the maritime heritage of our ancestors in our historical records. Especially, the cultural interactions emanated from the eastern parts of India, particularly Kalinga, and their connections with Southeast Asia have been completely overlooked. In fact, Indian history recorded after the arrival of Europeans proceeded in a different way with least recognition of the rituals, traditions, epics and purans that meticulously preserved the past. Rather most of it was criticized as folklore, stupid imaginations and savage cults. Regionalism also tried to counter each other's record and some even fabricated fictitious materials. Some of the epigraphic evidences were misinterpreted, misnamed and facts distorted.

Such unfortunate events made India to quickly forget that her culture had spread over such vast domains to the east and southeast. Indian scholars have not been aware of this fact until a small group of them, having learned French and Dutch, studied with the professor of the Universities of Paris and Leydens and discovered, in works of European scholars, about the Indian culture that engulfed the Southeast Asia.

It is important to reiterate that Kalinga has not received the attention it deserves in the maritime historiography of India. In absence of historical records on the subject in India, the only alternative was to search for the evidences from the recipient countries of Southeast Asia. The traces of Kalinga connection that is available in the historiography of these countries are gathered from those countries and documented in this publication. But there is still scope for further exploration of the maritime glory of Kalinga. I would earnestly request the experts to expand the ancestral glory of Kalinga and to improve upon my humble attempt in this field.

Bijay Kumar Swain

Acknowledgement

I am greatly obliged to those authors and scholars whose publications gave me insight to appreciate the discipline called History. I am deeply indebted to them. I admire the efforts of the scholars who discovered, transcribed and translated the Sanskrit inscriptions of the ancient Indianised states of Southeast Asia. Their publications offered clarification on interpreting epigraphic evidences and analysing Kalinga connection with these kingdoms.

I made it a point to visit the archaeological sites, ancient capitals, early worship centers, monuments and historical museums of the Indianised states of Southeast Asia. My wife, Jayanti Swain (Merry), untiringly accompanied me to all these places, some of which are remote, in wilderness that include the land of “Headhunters”. She assisted me in search of random scraps of evidences and study of the ancient culture of the people. She deserves special appreciation. Our young friend Dr. Lalit Nararyan Rath accompanied us along with his wife Santosini and son Nikhil to some of the locations. He also shared some photographs for this publication. I am exceptionally thankful for his contribution.

I must express my sincere obligation and admiration to Dr. Rabindra K. Swain, for reading the draft, editing and advising me to improve upon my work for this publication.

I would also like to thank the tour operators, chauffeurs, guides and the local people for the cordiality extended by them during my tour. Many others, friends and well-wishers have kindly supported this work. I convey my gratitude to all of them.

Bijay Kumar Swain

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CHAPTER 1

Indian Culture in Southeast Asia

The history and archaeology of many Southeast Asian nations exhibit the existence of Indian culture in their countries from very early times up to the late medieval period. They adopted Hindu-Buddhist religion, wrote in Sanskrit language, read Indian literature, embraced Indian institutions, and named their kings, kingdoms and capitals after Indian names. Some of these kings built mighty empires that flourished for more than a thousand years. The spirit of Hindu-Buddhist religion ‘inspired them to build monuments whose massive grandeur still excites the wonder of the world and far surpasses anything known so far in India’. [79.p.01] Coedes considers the process of “expansion of Indian culture” to those countries as one of the outstanding events of the world history, and preferred to use the term “Indianisation” of Southeast Asia. [23.p.14] Other eminent scholars chose to designate these countries as ‘Farther India’, ‘Greater India’, Indian Archipelago, etc., whereas some labelled the process as ‘Indian colonisation’, ‘Sanskritisation’, ‘Aryanisation’ and even ‘Brahmanisation’. But the Sanskrit literature from the beginning of Indianisation, used the term *Dvipantara*.

Cultural Migration

The culture from India spread over a series of kingdoms of the south-eastern region of Asia both in mainland and the archipelago. Indian styled states and political organisations were established in Sri Lanka, Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo, Philippines, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Myanmar and small states of Malay Peninsula. The rulers of these countries put their faith in the dictums of Indian Sanskrit scriptures. The relics preserved in their heritage sites, artefacts discovered from archaeological excavations and the rich antiquarian treasures displayed in their historical museums bear testimony to the main Indian faiths, Hinduism and Buddhism that were widely prevalent in the region. Various high quality images in stone or bronze representing the main gods of the Hindu pantheon,

and the Buddha and Buddhist deities attest to the importance of Indian religions in those nations. Indian ideologies were deeply implanted into their societies.

The rulers of the Indianised kingdoms, their priests and nobles of the court issued inscriptions in Sanskrit language. In these records they invoked deities of Indian origin. Large numbers of such inscriptions have been found all over the Southeast Asia. These are written in very good Sanskrit and indicate an acquaintance with various branches of Indian Sanskrit literature. The Vo-Chanh inscription of Champa (Vietnam), belonging to the third century CE, is perhaps the oldest of them. A very large number of short Sanskrit inscriptions, traceable to the period between the fourth and seventh century CE, have been found in Myanmar, Thailand, Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java and Borneo. All these prove that before the end of the seventh century CE, Indianised states were established in those areas. [22.p.61]

The Indianised states Kambuja (Cambodia) and Champa (Vietnam) have yielded large number of Sanskrit inscriptions. They are written both in prose and verse and are good specimens of the high-flown artificial style current in India about the same period. Most of the inscriptions of Kambuja are written in beautiful and almost flawless *Kavya* style, and some of them are quite big compositions. Besides, they show an intimate knowledge of the Indian Epics, *Karyas* and Puranas and other branches of literature, and a deep penetrating insight into Indian philosophical and spiritual ideas; they are also saturated with the religious and mythological conceptions of the different sects of India; all this to an extent which may be justly regarded as marvellous in a community separated from India by thousands of miles. [22.p.62]

With some exceptions, these documents are meticulously dated, providing the scope to work out the chronological framework of the kings who reigned there. These are also the authentic sources of information regarding history and culture of these nations.

Period of Contact

It is now impossible to determine when and how the interaction between people of India and Southeast Asia began. But certainly it was much before the arrival of Indian culture, custom, language and religion that impressed the social structures of Southeast Asia.

The Sanskrit historical literature of ancient India refers to these island nations as “*Dvipantara*”. Some Sanskrit scholars termed Southeast Asia as *Suvarnadvipa*, the “Golden Island” for their rich commercial products, which included the finest and rarest of spices. The exploratory seafarers of *Jambudvipa* (India) might have ventured to sail to *Dvipantara* in pre-historic times, in search of gold. Later, that region became known for its spices, camphor, and aromatic woods. Kalidas in *Raghuvamsa* mentions that Indian kingdom Kalinga used to import Clove (spices) from *Dvipantara* prior to fourth century CE. Thus it was the sporadic adventures of seafarers followed by trade interest had built-up the mutual association and trust since the period of considerable antiquity.

Evidences adduced from archaeological sources suggest that the seamen from India and Southeast Asia frequented each other's land before the Neolithic period i.e. from around 7,000 BCE to 1,000 BCE. The polished stone tools including shouldered adzes, bar-cefts, etc., recovered from Neolithic sites of India, have shown technological affinities with those of Southeast Asian countries. Monochrome glass beads of different colours, best known collectively as Indo-Pacific glass beads are the most common bead type in Late Prehistoric Southeast Asia. These glass beads have been reported in many Late Prehistoric sites of Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia. Glass bead manufacturing is reported from Khlong Thom in Thailand, Kuala Selinsing in Malaysia, Gilimanuk in Bali and Oc Eo in Vietnam from the early centuries of the Christian era. Such glass beads are reported from a number of Indian archaeological sites, although those seem to have arrived as finished products from other sites of India. [102.p.571-572] The glass beads of Indian origin were also abundantly found in the Neolithic strata of Southeast Asia. [23.p.08]

Founding of Indianised States

Trade is considered as the principal channel for transmission of Indian culture to Southeast Asia. Increased commercial activity between some of the ports of India and Southeast Asia introduced consistent social exchange around the centres of trade and also along the trade routes. Initially small Indian settlements were established on the coasts to ensure continuity of trade. Intermarriage between the Indian settlers and the natives cannot be ruled out. Inevitably there was migration of warrior class for the safety and security of the trade

route. Priests of respective faith- Hinduism and Buddhism-accompanied the merchant class and warrior class to appease the deities to mitigate mid-ocean adversaries and to perform the rituals of the Indian settlers. They carried with them their manners, customs, language and religion from *Jambudvipa* that was appreciated by the people of *Dvipantara* and was integrated into the local social system. Continued social interaction between the migrant community and the natives, including matrimonial relationship paved the way for gradual adoption of Indian political system that ultimately resulted in founding Indianised kingdoms.

Coedes observes that “the transformation of a simple commercial settlement into an organised political state, could come about in two different ways: either an Indian imposed himself as chief over a native population that was more or less strongly impregnated with Indian elements, or a native chief adopted the civilisation of the foreigners, strengthening his power by becoming Indianised. The change must have occurred in both ways. In case of the first type, however, where the dynasty was purely Indian in origin, it is hardly possible that it could long remain so because of the mixed marriages the Indians of necessity entered into.” [23.p.24]

Regarding the period of formation of Indianised states, historian Manmatha Nath Das, 1949, considers the First and Second centuries CE as the first stage of Indianisation. [134.p.113] R. C. Majumdar, 1955, observes that Indians had reached almost the furthest point in Indo-China - Oc-Eo and Funan- and established a kingdom there in the first century CE. [22.p.21] Coedes,1968, suggests that Indianisation of Southeast Asia began around the beginning of the Christian era. [23.p.10] Robin A. Donkin, 2003, writes that “The Indian advance into Southeast Asia may have started much earlier than the opening of the Christian era, the period that is usually proposed. By the third or fourth century CE (the date of the first surviving Sanskrit inscriptions) colonisation in whatever form had established a cultural and commercial bridge between India and Southeast Asia, first the mainland and then the archipelago at least as far as central Java and eastern Borneo. [39.p.59]

Majumdar, 1927, highlights four different lines of evidence to emphasise that Indian colonies were established before the first two centuries of the Christian era.

"In the first place, Ptolemy, writing about the middle of the second century CE, has used quite a large number of geographical names of Sanskrit origin in Indo-China.

Secondly, when the Chams or the people of Annam appear in history towards the close of the second century of our era, they were already under a Hindu or Hinduised dynasty, and the inscription of Vo-chanh, written in correct Sanskrit about the second or third century CE, shows them to have already thoroughly imbibed the Indian civilisation.

Thirdly, the Chinese had intercourse with the Hindu kingdom of Funan in the first half of the third century CE. At that time the throne was occupied by an usurper, and two kings had ruled before him for a period of 93 years. This takes us back to the first half of the second century CE when the foundation of the royal dynasty was laid.

Fourthly, an ambassador from one of the smaller Hindu kingdoms, Lang-ya-sieou (identified with Tenasserim), who visited the Chinese court in 515 CE is reported to have said that their kingdom was founded more than four hundred years ago." [33.p.xxi]

Citing these evidences he concludes that the beginning of Indianised kingdoms was prior to the second century CE. [33.p.xxi]

Antithetical hypotheses

A section of scholars have floated a different concept on evolution of Indian culture in Southeast Asia emphasising the element of local choice. Their view rests on the presumption that people of Southeast Asia were great navigators from the prehistoric time, who actively participated in trade with India and imported Indian customs and beliefs to their countries. They presume that the natives being impressed by the Indian culture preferred to spread it in their society. Some even postulate that "the whole of Indian culture in Indonesia was acquired through books and manuals, the Indians themselves playing a quite insignificant or even negligible role," and 'another scholar has come forward with the hypothesis that the Brahmins, whom the merchants described as famous for their magic powers, were summoned by the native chiefs to augment their power and prestige.' [23.p.23-26, G. Coedes, 1968] Highlighting the local initiative as compared to Indian intervention, H. G. Q. Wales, 1951, goes on to hypothesise the possibility of Egyptian/ Dongsonian/

Han cultural influences having reached Southeast Asia, offered scope for the local genius to mould the Indian influences. [168.p.65- H.G.Q. Wales, 1951]

R. C. Majumdar, reacting to the views of Mr. Wales observes that all ‘these represent the latest phase of a tendency to minimize the part played by the Hindus in the cultural evolution of South-east Asia. It has led to many theories which seek to revolutionise our whole conception of the culture and civilisation of Southeast Asia on extremely insufficient grounds. The common factor among them is an attempt to trace the origin of the culture of Southeast Asia to all possible and impossible sources, other than India, and the impatient search for the true home of this culture covers a wide region from China to Egypt.’ [22.p.85] ‘Some of the fundamental assumptions of Mr. Wales rest on very weak grounds and seems to be too speculative. This conscious or unconscious attempt to exaggerate the local factor and belittle the importance of Hindu element, and thereby change the entire conception of the value and importance of Hindu culture in Southeast Asia, seems to be a characteristic of certain classes of writers.’ [22.p.14] ‘It is true that the theories are put forward as merely provisional and tentative, but if constantly repeated without challenge, they are likely to be gradually regarded as historical truths.’ [22.p.86]

The importance of Sanskrit language in the Indianised states of Southeast Asia cannot be undervalued. Sanskrit had a key role in establishment of Indian tradition, values and beliefs. It was certainly not imported by the natives. People of one language will consider to learn a foreign language when it is favoured by the rulers and used in administration. ‘For example, in India during Mughal rule *Farsi* became the court language, and people learnt it. Then as British rule began, English became the official language, and people began to learn that.’ [143.p.11] The discovery of hundreds of Sanskrit inscriptions in Southeast Asia, names of their kings and ancient capitals, provide enough ground to believe that the rulers who founded the Indianised states were either from India or had their origin in India.

Gigantic monuments decorated with scenes predominantly depicting episodes from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata bear testimony to the greatness of Indian culture in Southeast Asia. These monuments not only demonstrate the sculptural excellence of the Indianised states but also their economic prosperity during that

period. R. C. Majumdar has rightly remarked that “there was a complete collapse of artistic ideas in this region, particularly in Java, as soon as the perennial source of supply of stimulus from India had dried up. This one fact alone is sufficient to indicate the vitally important part played by the Hindus in the development of culture and civilisation in South-east Asia.” [22.p.92]

The historiography of the Indian Ocean trade system informs that almost all the kingdoms of Southeast Asia sent tributary missions to the imperial court of China with rare gifts, request, etc. But they were dependant on India for religious leadership. “It can be postulated from the history of ancient Indonesia that the Chinese immigrants who lived for long years in Indonesia, carried on trade there and freely intermarried with the native population could not appreciably influence the language and literature, art and religion, society and government of the country.” [101.p.01] “The economic stimulation of the maritime region may have come equally from China and India, but it appears that the political and cultural stimulation of the region was already coming primarily from the Indian subcontinent.” [67.p.279]

In the early years of Christian era, China’s religious aspirants would turn to India for doctrines and scriptures of Buddhism. The writings of I-tsing, a Chinese Buddhist monk, provide the evidence that a number of monks from China visited the sacred places in India to acquire knowledge from the eminent teachers of Buddhism, learn Sanskrit, practice Yoga and collect authentic literatures. The first Chinese traveller whose name and writings have come down to us is the Sakyaputra Fa-hian. His journey, which lasted about sixteen years (399-414 CE), was detailed in his *Fo-kue-ki*. Next followed the travels of Sun-yun and Hwui-seng in 518 CE. Later, in 629 CE, the famous Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsiang, came to India. His travels in India and its neighbouring countries covered some seventeen years up to 645 CE. On return he took with him over 657 Sanskrit and Pali texts to China, and translated some of these texts. I-Tsing (635–713 CE) visited India through sea-route. He stayed in Srivijaya, an Indianised kingdom in Sumatra, for two terms, first in 671 CE for six months, and after a break, for about seven years from 688 CE to 695 CE, studying and translating the original Buddhist scriptures and Sutras. With his experience of the geography of the region during that period, he mentioned the names of eleven Indianised kingdoms, including the Javanese kingdom of Ho-ling (Kalinga in Java) to the

east of Srivijaya. [184.p.125-195] He also wrote about practice of Buddhism and Hinduism prevalent in many countries of Southeast Asia.

Chinese sources also acknowledge that Indian tantric teachers, Subhakarasimha, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra were the founder preceptors of Tantrayana in China at the beginning of the eighth century CE. Professor Sylvain Levi, (1863-1935) a French orientalist, reports that Odisha king Sri-Subhakaradeva-I (780-800 CE) sent an autographed manuscript of *Avatamsaka*, a Mahayana Buddhist scripture, to the Chinese emperor in 795 CE. [184.p.213-217]

A Peaceful Process of Acculturation

The process of assimilation of Indian culture in Southeast Asian cannot be compared with the escapade of Ferdinand Magellan in islands of Philippines nor with the European colonisation of America, Asia and Africa. To cite an example, ‘the British who first came to India as pacific traders found it necessary to indulge in warlike activities, to annex territories, conclude treaties, establish settlements on Indian soil and rule over their enclaves to ensure commercial gain.’[156.p.75] No such annexation was ever envisioned by Indians in Southeast Asia.

The Southeast Asian states where the Hindu/Buddhist tradition and Sanskrit language flourished for hundreds of years were never intended to be conquered by Indians. Over the years they developed trustworthy relationship, mutual co-operation and even competition but never annexation or subjugation. As Coedes observed, “Indian penetration or infiltration seems almost always to have been peaceful. The Indians nowhere engaged in military conquest and annexation in the name of a state or mother country. And the Indian kingdoms that were set up in Farther India during the first centuries of the Christian era had only ties of tradition with the dynasties reigning in India proper; there was no political dependence. The Indian kingdoms of Farther India were governed by independent sovereigns of native origin or of mixed blood, advised by Indian or Indianised counsellors whose activity was chiefly cultural.” [23.p.34]

Indian scriptures do not endorse annexation of conquered kingdoms. Puranic wars that were fought to establish righteousness and social order were meant for destruction of wickedness. If the defeated king showed allegiance, he was allowed to rule; otherwise a loyal and virtuous member of his family was crowned. The

epigraphic sources also report on non-annexation of feudatory states by some famed emperors of India. According to Hathigumpha inscription of first century BCE, Kalinga emperor Kharabela, by implementing the three-fold policy of chastisement, alliance and conciliation triumphed over many kingdoms but didn't dethrone their rulers. Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, of fourth century CE, is considered the most important historical document of classical Gupta age. It provides a unique snapshot of the Gupta empire, its neighbours and is the source of much of what is known of the geopolitical landscape of that era.' [37.p.318] While accentuating the territorial triumphs of Samudragupta, the inscription records that the realms of Daivaputras, Sahis, Sahanusahis, Sakas and Murundas, the domain of Simhala (Sri Lanka) and the island nations (of Southeast Asia) had acknowledged the suzerainty of Samudragupta. But they were left undisturbed by the emperor to rule their respective kingdoms; their territorial integrity remaining intact. Similarly, the conquest of Samudragupta in south India was more an assertion of suzerainty than any actual subjugation. [169.p.12-14]

Indian influence of Southeast Asia was not the result of any military expedition nor did the native people ever resist the flow of Indian culture. Rather the independent political units of Southeast Asia allowed uninterrupted integration of Indian elements into their society. There was no confrontation between Hindu/Buddhist tradition and the local beliefs. 'There was no political motive, no religious hatred, no military manoeuvre to intimidate and enslave the people. It was a natural process by which the island people received Indian civilisation which formed the foundation of the wonderful superstructure of their own.' [01.p.69] The course of absorption of Indian culture was unique, cordial and peaceful.

Faded Away but Not Forgotten

The Islamic invasion of India from the thirteenth century CE gave a major setback to India's relationship with the Hindu kingdoms of Southeast Asia. Mongol military assault in Champa (Vietnam), Java and Burma (Myanmar) almost during the same period had adverse impacts on Indianised states. This was followed by the spread of Islam in Indonesia and Theravada Buddhism replacing the Hindu-Buddhist Mahayana tradition in Kambuja (Cambodia) and Champa. Theravada Buddhism curtailed the importance of Hindu priestly families close to the king. Repeated conflicts between the

neighbouring kingdoms reduced the strength of each other. All these factors brought about a dynamic change in political atmosphere of Southeast Asia, and by the fifteenth century the Indianised states waned into oblivion.

With the decay of Indian tradition, the majestic monuments that adorned those kingdoms fell into disuse, remained neglected; some abandoned, some lay hidden for centuries under the layers of volcanic ash and jungle growth, and the majority forgotten till their discovery by archaeologists after hundreds of years.

Some historians are of the opinion that India quickly forgot her cultural expansion over such vast domains in the east and southeast. As late as twentieth century, a small group of Indian scholars became aware of this fact from the works of European authors. [23.p.xvii] But in reality Indians never forgot their glorious past. Though Indian history written during British rule has overlooked the maritime heritage of India, the people of India used to recall their intimate bond with the island nations by observing certain rituals and organising annual festivals. This unwritten history has been preserved from generations in the sacramental and ceremonial traditions of those Indians who had trade links across the Southeast Asian islands, the *Dvipantaras*.

CHAPTER 2

Kalinga, the Lord of the Ocean

The commercial and cultural interaction between India and Southeast Asia is age-old and certainly much before the commencement of Christian era. Many parts of ancient India had their contributions, in varying degrees, to the diffusion of Indian culture in South-east Asia. [103.p.29] But, regarding the adventurous explorers who initiated the flow of Indian culture to these distant island nations, there have been contradictory opinions by some scholars making claims and counter claims between states of North, South, East and Western part of the Indian subcontinent. Some researchers have expressed critical opinions on this issue accusing Indian authors for their regional bias. In the words of Coedes, “the Indian historians have not always approached it with desired objectivity: if they were natives of Madras, they attributed the honour of having colonised ‘Greater India’ to the Tamil lands; if they were natives of Calcutta, to Bengal”. [23.p.29]

Indian culture continued to influence Southeast Asia in successive waves for more than a thousand years and during this long span there has been changes in territorial expansion and maritime domination of Indian coastal states. Each of these states have played their part in different periods of history and thus have a claim to the progress of Indianisation. However, on the pioneering venture, the authoritative Indian literature *Raghuvamsa* of Kalidasa clearly indicates the regional imprint of the seafarers who exercised control over the Indian Ocean maritime trade during initial years before fourth century CE.

Some historians are of the opinion that much of the Indianisation activity took place during the period from fourth to sixth century CE, when India, under the rule of Gupta dynasty, asserted herself as a dominant factor in Asiatic politics. [68.p.182] According to Coedes, the period from the middle of the fourth century CE to the middle of the fifth, brought princes, Brahmans and scholars to the peninsula and islands, which were already Indianised and in regular contact with India. These Indians were

responsible for the introduction of Sanskrit epigraphy in Champa, then Borneo and Java. [23.p.56] He further observes that the period ending in 550 CE witnessed the birth of a series of Indian or Indianised kingdoms in region like the Irrawaddy Basin, the valley of the lower Mekong, and the plains of central Vietnam, which were to remain seats of powerful states through the centuries, and, inevitably, in sites such as Kedah, Palembang, and the western extremity of Java, whose contemporary history has confirmed their privileged economic, commercial or strategic position. [23.p.63-64]

It is pertinent to mention here that during the fourth/fifth century CE, Kalidasa, the celebrated Sanskrit author and the legendary poet in the court of Imperial Guptas, declared Kalinga as the “Lord of the ocean” as well as the forerunner of the spice trade. Such a portrayal of Kalinga was announced in presence of the kings of the principal states of the then India, assembled in *Svayamvara* (ceremony for self-electing-spouse) of princess Indumati, as described in *Raghuvamsa*.

Mahakarya (epic poem) *Raghuvamsa*, narrates the dynastic history of king Raghu. As the line of kings initially sprang from the Sun, the dynasty is otherwise known as *Suryavamsa* (Solar dynasty). Manu was the first king of this dynasty and his descendants included Dilipa, Raghu, Aja, Dasharatha and Lord Rama. The epic credits Raghu as the most illustrious of the kings of the solar race who conquered the entire Indian sub-continent. Prince Aja was the son of Raghu. Aja was married to princess Indumati, sister of King Bhoja of Vidarbha. Their son was king Dasharatha of Ajodhya. Aja and Indumati are the paternal grandparents of Lord Rama.

The sixth *Sarga* (Canto) of *Raghuvamsa* recounts a very interesting episode about the *Svayamvara* of princess Indumati. King Bhoja deputes a messenger to king Raghu to invite prince Aja to grace the *Svayamvara* ceremony of his sister. The invitation is accepted and Aja proceeds to attend the ceremony. Besides Aja, the princes/rulers of Magadha, Anga, Avanti, Anupa, Surasena, Kalinga and Pandya were also invited. For better appreciation, the probable location of these ancient kingdoms in the present contest is stated below:

1. *Uttara-Kosala*: the kingdom of Raghu, comprised of Lucknow and Fyzabad area of Uttara Pradesh
2. *Vidarbha*: the kingdom of Bhoja is Vidarbha region of east-central Maharashtra

3. *Magadha*: Patna and Gaya districts of Bihar
4. *Anga*: Bhagalpur and Munger districts of Bihar
5. *Anupa*: Central Gujarat
6. *Avanti*: Parts of western Madhya Pradesh and south-eastern Rajasthan
7. *Surasena*: Comprised of Mathura of Uttar Pradesh and Bharatpur of Rajasthan
8. *Kalinga*: Included major parts of Odisha and northern Andhra Pradesh
9. *Pandya*: Major parts of Madurai and Tirunelveli region of Tamil Nadu

A poet of universal repute, Kalidasa had detailed knowledge of the political geography of India of his times. The fourth *sarga* of *Raghuvamsa*, which describes the *dig-vijaya* of Raghu clearly indicates the name and position of major kingdoms of that period. The description of these places is far from being conventional or traditional; it very often reads like an eye-witness, and it is pretty certain that Kalidasa must have travelled widely with an observant eye. No other poet in classical Sanskrit literature has described the country in such a familiar and vivid manner. [16.p.XL] However, considering the dignity and aristocratic prominence of the kingdoms, the poet has invited only few princes for this prestigious occasion.

On the day of *Swayamvara* the princes and kings coming from different parts of India assembled in the richly decorated hall and seated on magnificent thrones. Princess *Indumati*, ornately dressed in the bridal attire, enters the hall accompanied by her attendants. Her chief companion, *Sunanda*, is not only a smart, clever and fashionable personality, but also well acquainted with the lineages and reputation of assembled kings. She conducted the princess to the presence of the kings. Beginning with Magadha, the princess passes by the royal suitors of Anga, Avanti, Anupa, Surasena, Kalinga and Pandya. While approaching each of them in turn Sunanda describes the affluence, authority and command of the king and the kingdom in a few well-chosen words. Apart from Kalinga lord '*Hemangada*' she does not reveal the name of other rulers, while narrating their feats. Sunanda tried to allure the princess in favour of each of these princes, but the supremely delicate princess did not fix her heart upon any of them. Finally she comes to *Aja*, whom she chooses as her husband. [16.p.xviii]

The amenities and eminence of Kalinga as described by the poet in the voice of Sunanda, has been narrated in verses 54-57 of the sixth *Sarga* of *Raghuvamsa*; the gist of which is mentioned below:

"The king of Kalinga, Hemangada by name, is equal to the mount Mahendra in strength, and also the Lord of Mahendra. He is admired as the paramount lord of the expanding ocean having regular commercial contacts with the Island nations. (*Patib Mahendrasya Mahodadhesvo*). He, the foremost of archers, has conquered all his foes. He has palaces close to the sea and the waves are visible through the windows. If the princess would like to sport with him on the shores of the sea, resonant with exhilarating rustling sound of palm leaves the drops of perspiration on her body will be removed by breezes loaded with the seductive fragrance of clove flowers brought from distant islands (*Dvipantaranvita Labanga puspeih*)."
[16.p.48-49] (346 of 658)

The Sanskrit verses (54-57) of Canto VI of *Raghuvamsa* are reproduced below:

असौ महेन्द्राद्रिसमानसारः पतिर्महेन्द्रस्य महोदधेश्व ।
 यम्य क्षरत्सैन्यगजच्छलेन यात्रासु यातीव पुरो महेन्द्रः ॥ ५४ ॥
 ज्याधातरेखे सुभुजो भुजाभ्यां विभर्ति यथापभृतां पुरोगः ।
 रिपुश्रियां सुञ्जनवाप्सके बन्दीकृतानामिव पद्धती द्वे ॥ ५५ ॥
 यमौत्पनः सद्ग्निं संनिकृष्टो मन्द्रध्वनित्याजितयापतूर्यः ।
 प्रासादवातात्यनदृश्यवीचिः प्रवोधयत्यर्णव एव सुप्तम् ॥ ५६ ॥
 अनेन सार्थं विहराम्बुराशेस्तीरेषु तालीवनमर्मरेषु ।
 द्रीपान्तरानीतलवङ्ग-पुष्पैरपाकृतस्वेदलवा मरुङ्गिः ॥ ५७ ॥

[16.p.140-141]

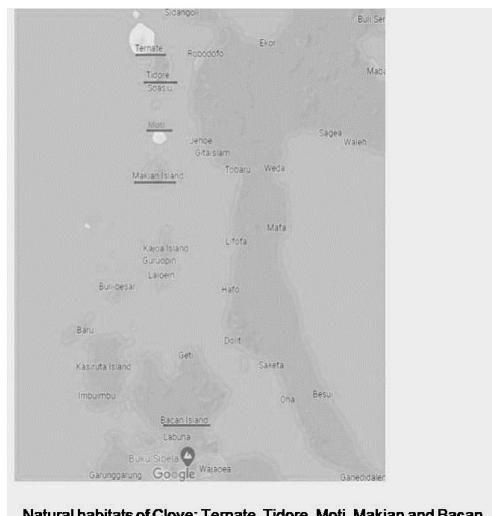
Apart from the entralling lyrical elegance, these verses have paramount historical significance. Kalidasa, the great master of Sanskrit literature, had spelt out in these verses that Kalinga was the leading maritime power engaged in spice trade in island nations of Southeast Asia during fourth/fifth century CE, or even before that. Such endorsement has not been made in respect of other kingdoms while singing their praise in the voice of Sunanda. Thus it is the navigators of Kalinga who traversed widely the waters of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean carrying the banner of Indian civilisation far and wide into the farther Asiatic lands. These pioneer colonists of India left their footmarks on the sands of many a land.
[134.p.121]

The question that bothered some historians regarding the particular region of India that contributed the most in the process of Indianisation during initial years is now disposed of in favour of Kalinga.

The Malaysian and Indonesian term ‘Kling’ used to designate people of Indian origin irrespective of their native state, undoubtedly endorss the innovative role of Kalinga in carrying the Indian culture to Southeast Asia. The Kalingan contact with the countries of Southeast Asia, since the early centuries of the Christian era, have been supported by eminent scholars like G.E. Gerini, John Crawfurd, R. C. Majumdar, G. Coedes, H. B. Sarkar and many others. [28.p.03]

Regarding the period of commencement of commercial intercourse with Southeast Asia, some indication is also available in the above verses of *Raghuvamsa*. The stanza, ‘*Dvipantaranvita Labanga puspeih*’, of verse fifty seven, which means “Clove flowers brought from distant islands” provides the clue. Sanskrit word “*Dvipantara*” stands for the islands of Southeast Asia. The clove of commerce is morphologically a dried flower-bud of the plant species *Syzygium aromaticum*, (Linn), belonging to family Myrtaceae. Poet Kalidasa rightly calls it “*Labanga puspa*”, the clove flower.

Clove is not indigenous to India. During the era of *Raghuvamsa* clove was available only in its natural habitat that was limited to five small isles – Bacan, Makian, Moti, Ternate, and Tidore of Indonesia archipelago.



Natural habitats of Clove: Ternate, Tidore, Moti, Makian and Bacan

Fig 1. Natural Habitat of Clove

Kalinga merchants (*Sadhabas*) had full knowledge of those islands in the Southeast Asia and might have established political control over the area for smooth transaction of trade. Poet Kalidas makes a note of this in the context of the *Svayamvara* of Indumati when her mate introduces the prince of Kalinga and appreciates one of his many virtues as possessor of the highly esteemed *Lavanga* flowers brought from the *Dvipantara*. Being a lucrative article of trade both for east and west, it was imported from its native islands to India through Kalinga ports. Indian merchants played the most important intermediary role and the Persians the next intermediaries in its further west transit to Rome.[144.p.229-30]

Clove has gained popularity in Indian households since antiquity as condiment and therapeutic agent. But its earliest mention in Indian literature as a traditional Indian drug has been made, not only in *Raghuvamsa* but also in Ayurvedic treatise, '*Charaka Samhita*'. Cloves as aromatic, stimulant, and carminative are used for dyspepsia and gastritis. Clove oil is employed as a local analgesic for carious teethes and is used externally as a counter-irritant and internally as a carminative and antispasmodic.[“*The Useful Plants of India*”, Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, New Delhi, 1986; P.613]

The scholarly dates assigned to Charaka range from second century BCE to first century CE. [“*The Legacy of Charaka*” by M. S. Valiathan, Orient Longman Private Limited, 2003] Crawfurd, 1820, reports that clove was not used either as a condiment or a drug by the inhabitants of its parent country. [84.I.p.497] Hence, before admitting a foreign product to the Indian system of medicine and prescribing its use as a drug, Indian physicians must have tested its therapeutic potentiality over a period of time. It can, therefore, be safely assumed that clove was imported to India much before second century BCE and Kalinga's commercial and cultural intercourse with Southeast Asia certainly commenced before that period.

Historical Geography-from Kalinga to Odisha

The history of Kalinga goes back to the period of Aryan civilisation. Indian epics such as the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and the *Puranas* have descriptions of Kalinga, its kings and the people. Buddhist chronicles, Jataka tales and the Jain literature devote special chapters to Kalinga country.

The *Mahabharata* in Vana Parva clearly states that river Ganges marked the northern extent of the coastal kingdom Kalinga. About the southern limit, the epic does not present a definite boundary but indicates that it extended beyond the Mahendra Mountain. The *Natyasastra* informs that the western limit of Kalinga extended up to the Vindhya Mountain. The Bay of Bengal then known as *Purva Sagara* (The Eastern Sea) continues to form the eastern boundary.

In the recorded history of India, the political geography of Kalinga underwent fragmentation with fluctuating boundaries in different periods. Its extensive territory and segments were named as Utkala, Odradesh, Koshala, Toshala or Toshali, Kongoda, and Kalinga Rastra by different ruling dynasties. Some of the rulers have claimed themselves as ‘*Sakala-Kalinga-Adhipati*’ (The Lord of entire Kalinga) and ‘*Tri-Kalinga-Adhipati*’ (The Lord of three Kalingas) to glorify their status. The modern Indian state Odisha occupies the major portion of erstwhile Kalinga. However, parts of coastal Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand state are said to have belonged to the land of greater Kalinga. The people of Odisha continue to remember the names Kalinga and Utkala with a great sense of pride. [113.p.86]

Major rock edicts of emperor Asoka records that fragmentation of Kalinga started after the epoch-making Kalinga war in third century BCE. On conquest of Kalinga, Asoka established two administrative headquarters; one at Toshali which is identified with the modern village Dhauli near Bhubaneswar, and the second headquarters named Somapa which developed close to modern Jaugada in Ganjam district.

With the decline of Maurya Empire, Kalinga entered into another phase of eminence. By mid-first century BCE, it became a politically dominant and economically prosperous region in India under the leadership of Maha Meghavahana Aira Kharabela of Chedi dynasty. Kharabela by his extensive conquests of the Uttarapatha, the Dakshinapatha, and the Madhyadesha, revitalised Kalinga as a great empire and made determined effort to curb the repeated advances of *Yavana* kings from north and north-west. The capital of Kharavela was called Kalinganagari, also mentioned as Nagari in the Hatigumpha inscription, and the city has been identified with modern Sisupalgarh near Bhubaneswar. [113.p.33]

In second century CE, the Chedi dynasty was replaced by the Indo-Scythian *Murundas*, who ruled Kalinga for about 200 years up to early fourth

century CE. The territorial extent of Kalinga during Murunda period has not been reported from any epigraphic sources. However, the numismatic evidences and Puranic sources provide clues on the extent and bounds of Murunda rule, which included the coastal Odisha, Singbhum region of Jharkhand, Manbhum (Purulia) district of West Bengal and Narmada valley of Maharashtra region. Maharaja Rajadhiraj Dharmadamdhara known from the gold coin recovered from Sisupalgarh, Maharaja Ganabhadra of the Bhadrak stone inscription and Kalinga king Guhasiva mentioned in Sri Lankan chronicle *Dathavamsa*, belonged to Murunda family. Chinese sources inform that one of the Murunda kings had sent an embassy to Funan in third century CE. Introduction of gold currency, relationship with Sri Lanka and Funan are indicative of their maritime power and economic prosperity.

The death of Guhasiva in fourth century CE appears to be the end of Murunda reign in Kalinga. This might be the period of another large scale exodus from Kalinga to Southeast Asia that helped in formation of state and achievement of political power. It is believed that the emergence of *Holing* (Kalinga) in Java synchronised with this fresh immigration from Kalinga.

The evidence recorded in the Asanpat stone inscription point out that the Murunda power in Kalinga was defeated at the hands of the Naga dynasty. The inscription reveals that king Satrughanja, the son of Manabhanja of the Naga family, who was ruling over Vindhya-tavi defeated the Devaputras (Kushans and Murundas) in hundreds of battles and donated a lakh of cows in Pataliputra, Gaya, Krimila, Dadavardhana, Vardhamana, Gorhati, Khadranga, Tamralipti, as well as in Ubhaya Toshali. [02.p.59-60]

On collapse of Murunda power, Kalinga was again subjected to fragmentation.

The north of Mahanadi up to Kasai River was the Utkala of Raghuvamsa, later designated as Uttara Tosali; whereas the territory south of Mahanadi to the river Godavari retained the name Kalinga. While Naga dynasty was ruling over Uttara Toshali, another powerful royal family, the Matharas, occupied the Kalinga. They styled themselves as Maharaja, and some of them called themselves as Kalingadhipati. A large number of Copper Plate Grants of the Mathara Kings have survived till now to speak about their various achievements. Rule of Mathara dynasty covered a period of one hundred and fifty years, i.e., from the middle of the fourth century CE, to the end of the fifth century CE. Simhapura, which is regarded

as a traditional capital of Kalinga was the headquarters of Mathara kings. They used '**Varman**' title, revived the Brahmanical faith, patronised Sanskrit language and used it extensively. The time of the Mathara rule coincides with the most effective maritime activities of ancient Kalinga in overseas lands. [113.p.93-94] Kalinga described by the poet Kalidasa in *Raghuvamsa* as lord of Mahendra and the sea, coincides with the kingdom of this period.

Matharas were succeeded by Eastern Gangas by about 500 CE, under whom the territorial boundary of Kalinga diminished to a narrow coastal tract extending from the Rishikulya in the north to the Nagavali in the south (from the southern part of modern Ganjam district up to the northern part of Visakhapatnam district). The headquarters of this kingdom was at Kalinganagara, modern Mukhalingam on the Vamsadhara River, about twenty miles from Parlakhemundi. [02.p.21]

In the latter half of 6th century CE, Vigraha dynasty ruled over the territory to the south of the Mahanadi and named the kingdom as 'Kalingarashtra'. The Western Odisha with portions of Madhya Pradesh was known as South Kosala and was under the Sarabhupuriyas. The Uttara Toshali, comprising the area north of river Mahanadi, was ruled by Mudgala dynasty. The kingdoms of the Mudgalas and the Vigrahas were adjacent to each other and there was bitter enmity between these two ruling families. [02.p.86]

By 600 CE, the kingdom extending from the Mahanadi to the Rushikulya River was named as Dakshina Toshali. Both the Toshalis were then under the rule of the rival monarchs, Sambhuyasa and Lokavigraha respectively. Sometime before 620 CE the Uttara Toshali was designated as Utkala under Somadatta and Dakshina Toshali named as Kongoda under Sailodbhavas. During this period, Sasanka the king of Gauda, the modern Bengal, became the master of Utkala and Kongoda. The *Ekamra Purana* mentions that, Sasanka had constructed the Tribhuvanesvara Siva temple at Ekamra Kshetra, the modern Bhubaneswar. However, by 621 CE he was overpowered by Harshavardhana, king of Thaneswar. After about 625 CE, 'Uttara Toshali' formed the part of Odra vishaya; which was referred to as U-cha or Wu-t'a by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsiang, who visited this region in 639 CE.

During sixth and seventh century CE, Kongoda was ruled by Sailodbhava dynasty. They were Saivite and venerated Mahendra Mountain as their *Kula Parvata* (dynastic origin). This territory was

named as Kongoda mandala, probably because it contained parts of Kalinga and Oda (Odra) and the word Kalingoda, thus formed, came to be known as Kongoda in common use. [02.p.99] Taking advantage of that century-old relation between Kalinga and the oversea lands, the Sailodbhavas of Kongoda were supposed to have launched upon their colonial adventure in Indonesia and ultimately succeeded in establishing the great and far-flung Sailendra Empire in that part of Southeast Asia. The Sailodbhava dynasty disappeared from Kongoda in early eighth century CE and the Sailendra Empire of Java rose into prominence in that period. [113.p.94]

A new political situation developed with the rise of the Bhaumakaras in 736 CE. The Sailodbhavas of Kongoda were crushed and the Bhauma Empire extended from the Ganges in the north to the Mahendra Mountain in the south. The Bhaumakaras called their empire as Toshali which was divided into Uttara Toshali and Dakshina Toshali, the river Mahanadi being the dividing line. The Bhaumas ruled over both the Toshalis for about two centuries and their capital was located at Guheswarapataka probably at the neighbourhood of Viraja, modern Jajpur town. [113.p.38] This dynasty patronised Mahayana Buddhism and excelled in propagating Vajrayana and Tantrayana throughout the Asia. The rule of Bhaumakara dynasty came to an end by third quarters of tenth century CE.

The ninth century CE witnessed the rise of Somavamsi dynasty, who played a spectacular political role to unify the modern Odisha. Early Somavamsis were ruling in a kingdom comprising parts of western Odisha and Chhattisgarh, then known as Dakshina Koshala. They expanded their power to the south and east and by the end of tenth century CE annexed the Bhaumakara territory. Dakshina Toshali renamed as Kongoda and Uttara Toshali as Utkala came under the suzerainty of the Somavamsis. King Yayati II, a powerful monarch of this dynasty, proclaimed himself as the Lord of Kalinga, Kongoda, Utkala and Koshala, showing thereby his hold over all the four traditional divisions of Odisha when the whole of Odisha did not pass under that more famous name Kalinga. [113.p.96] This family is popularly known as Kesari dynasty. Their contributions to culture and civilisation especially in the field of art and architecture were very significant. Many temples of Bhubaneswar including the gigantic Lingaraja and the Rajarani, the shrines of Ranipur-Jharial and a number of monuments in different parts of Odisha and Chhattisgarh are credited to them. [02.p.157]

Somavamsi rule was put to an end by the Ganga dynasty. The Eastern Gangas who retained the name Kalinga over a small coastal territory, extending from the Ganjam district to the Visakhapatnam district, since 500 CE, became an imperial power by early twelfth century CE. The invincible Anantavarman Chodagangadeva (1077-1147 CE) extended the dominion from the Ganges in the north to the Godavari in the south, covering the entire land of the ancient Kalinga. But he named the new territory as the SakalotkalaSamrajya. AnangabhimaDeva-III (1211-1238 CE) of this dynasty succeeded in unifying Kosala and Utkala under a single sceptre in 1212 CE [02.p.28] Chodagangadeva is remembered in the history of Odisha not only as a great warrior but also a great builder of the Ganga Imperial structure. He built the magnificent temple for Lord Jagannatha at Puri. Besides this monument Chodagangadeva is credited as the builder of the Vishnu temple at Mukhalingam and Srikurmam of Andhra Pradesh. [148.p.52] Emperor Narasimhadeva-I (1238-1264), otherwise known as Langula Narasimhadeva in the Odishan tradition, built the marvelous Sun temple at Konarka. Ganga dynasty is not only famed for their sculptural excellence, but also as a formidable power that repeatedly defeated the Muslims in their attempt to progress into the south on the bank of the Ganges. During the Turkish period of Indian history when the power of Islam was established throughout the length and breadth of India, only the Ganga Empire remained as an exception and continued as a strong Hindu domain. [134.p.158]

Ganga dynasty was replaced by the solar dynasty (Surya Vamsa) in 1435 CE, founded by Shri Kapilendradeva. The rulers of this dynasty are otherwise known as Gajapati kings in Odisha tradition. Kapilendradeva in his proclamations of 1436 CE inscribed on the walls of the Jagannatha temple, Puri and Lingaraja temple, Bhubaneswar, renamed the territory as ‘Odisha rajya’. [113.p.31]

The name “Kalinga” continued to be retained by a small kingdom in south Odisha, which formed a territorial unit under the rule of the Solar dynasty. But its position was reduced to that of a Dandpata- a fiscal division of Odisha rajya. During the rule of Moghuls, the term Dandapata gave place to “Circar”, but in case of Kalinga the word Dandapata was retained as suffix and the fiscal division was called “Circar Calinga Dundpat”. In 1750 CE the Nizam of Hyderabad ceded the coastal territory called Northern Circars to the French who in turn made over the Northern Circar to the

English in 1759 CE. [02.p.22] Including a portion of Southern Odisha, the Kalinga Dandapata was administered as a part of Madras presidency during British rule. This has led to anomaly by some western scholars to place Kalinga in south India. But the people of Odisha continue to cherish the territorial extent of ancient Kalinga that was from Ganges in the north to Godavari in south on the East Coast of India.

In short it can be said that Kalinga was an ancient name of an Indian territory which in its prime period organised a vast empire that extended from the mouth of Ganges in the north to the mouth of river Godavari in the south and from Bay of Bengal in the east to Amarkantaka hill in the west.

Kalinga's Maritime Hegemony

Archaeological findings and Indian literary references do suggest that Kalinga had established maritime contacts with the outside world much before the recorded history and most likely from the Neolithic-Chalcolithic period. Ancient Kalinga with its territory extending from the Ganges to Godavari, occupied a unique and interesting position in the geography of India. In past the inhabitants of this land happened to be one of the most enterprising and prosperous peoples of India and it was mainly due to the wonderful position that Kalinga enjoyed. Kalinga was not only a formidable political power, but also a maritime super power and the gateway between India and Southeast Asia. It played a vital role in the cultural fusion of North and South as well as in the oceanic adventure of India. [134.p.01-02]

It is believed that with the intent of exercising adequate control over the international maritime route, the brave Kalinga seafarers (the Kalinga *Sabasikas*) migrated to far off islands of Indian Ocean, settled there and intermingled with the native population. They introduced Indian culture and established political control over large domains. Many scholars have acknowledged the role of Kalinga in the process of colonisation of Southeast Asian countries. Some such noteworthy passages from the writings of eminent historians are quoted in following paragraphs:

John Crawfurd, the author of '*History of The Indian Archipelago*', 1820, was the British Resident at the Court of the Sultan of Java from 1811 CE for a period of nearly six years, during which he had the opportunity of acquiring historical information regarding the

country and its inhabitants. His intercourse with the locals as well as people frequenting Java for commercial purposes provided him with lots of personal experience. His observations on colonisation in Java in early centuries of Christian era read as under:

“The Indians who have settled there are chiefly from the east coast of the Indian peninsula and the natives of the country call them, most properly, *Kaling* (*Kalinga*). [84.I.p.133] *Kalinga* is the only country of India known to the Javanese by its proper name, the only country familiar to them, and the only one mentioned in their books, with the exception of those current in religious legends. Hence they designate India always by this name, and know it by no other, except, indeed, when, by a vanity for which their ignorance is an apology, they would infer the equality of their island with that great country, and speak of them relatively, as the countries on this or that side of the water. It is to *Kalinga* that the Javanese universally ascribe the origin of their Hinduism; and the more recent and authentic testimony of the Brahmins of Bali, who made me a similar assurance, as will be seen in another part of the work, is still more satisfactory. [84.II.p.226, 227] An examination of the institutions of the Indian islanders furnishes an argument, and, as far as I know, the only one, in favour of the hypothesis of *Kalinga* being the native country of those who propagated Hinduism in the Indian islands.” [84.II.p.229]

Professor **Radhakumud Mookerji**, in his meticulously researched publication of 1912- ‘*A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the Earliest Times*’ writes:

‘In the eastward maritime activity of India the pioneering work seems to have been done and the lead taken by the ancient kingdom of *Kalinga* on the eastern sea-board, which is said to have been founded “at least eight centuries before Christ,” and which extended from the mouth of the Ganges to the mouth of the Krishna. This kingdom was ruled for many centuries by princes of the Buddhist persuasion, a religion which did not tolerate any antipathy against foreign nations. Some of the inscriptions “speak of navigation and ship-commerce as forming part of the education of the princes of *Kalinga*.” [68.p.144] At first confining their maritime efforts to Ceylon, the Klings from mere coasting soon began to make bolder voyages across the Bay of Bengal. From the evidences furnished by the *Buddhagat*, or the sacred scripture of the Burmese in particular, it is clear that a steady commercial intercourse was cultivated with Burma by the Buddhist merchants of *Kalinga*, which soon led to missionary undertakings for the spread of their religion, and afterwards to the assumption of political supremacy in the land. [68.p.145] “Perhaps the most interesting and conspicuous fact in connection with the Indian maritime activity towards the East is the Hindu colonisation of Java, one of the most glorious achievements recorded in the entire history of the country. And yet the first impulse to this colonising activity and expansion of India had its origin in the obscure kingdom of *Kalinga*, whose early history nobody knows or cares to know. As far back as the 75th year of

the Christian era a band of Hindu navigators sailed from Kalinga, and, instead of plying within the usual limits of the Bay of Bengal, boldly ventured out into the open limitless expanse of the Indian Ocean and arrived at the island of Java. There the adventurous navigators planted a colony, built towns and cities, and developed a trade with the mother country which existed for several centuries. The history of this Hindu colonisation of Java is thus briefly put by Elphinstone: ‘The histories of Java give a distinct account of a numerous body of Hindus from *Clinga* (Kalinga) who landed on this island, civilised the inhabitants, and who fixed the date of their arrival by establishing the era still subsisting’.[68.p.148] “That Kalinga had a large share in the colonisation of Java and the adjacent islands is hinted at not only in the native chronicles of Java but is also accepted as truth by many competent scholars.” [68.p.149]

The author of ‘*A Maritime History of India*’, 1982, **Rear Admiral K. Sridharan** acclaims the maritime role of Kalinga in following words:

“It will be appropriate to examine here the glorious part played by the Kalingas in the shaping of the maritime history of India. Indeed, they were responsible for having initiated the adventurous spirit of immigrating to Java. It is known that Kalinga seafarers made a bold oceanic voyage and managed to land at Java as early as 75 CE. Having landed, they settled in the island, built up their contacts and developed regular trade with the mainland of India. This marked the beginning of an era of Hindu civilisation in this area of the Far East. There are not only the legendary chronicles of the ‘Klings’ (Kalingas) having immigrating to Java, there is also inscriptional and architectural evidence in those regions.” [156.p.36] The “Klings” continued to maintain their contact with the motherland. The Chilika Lake in modern Odisha served as excellent anchorage in the days of the Kalingas, and from Palura on the Kalinga coast many a ship set sail to the east. [156.p.37] Until the arrival of the Cholas in the scene of south India maritime history and the Sri Vijaya kings in Father India, the Kalingas played an important maritime role and left the vestiges of their civilisation and oceanic enterprise fully imprinted on the annals of history. [156.p.38]

Archaeological Evidence

The archaeological excavation findings from Sankarjang (Sanakerjang) and Golabai Sasana have produced evidence that Kalinga’s maritime contact with the outside world would date back to the Neolithic period (from around 7,000 B.C. to 1,000 B.C.), although it could have been still earlier.

Sanakerjang ($20^{\circ}52'08''N$; $84^{\circ}59'19''E$), now called Sanakerjang in Angul district of Odisha, is an archaeological site where a number of ossuary have been discovered in 1971 CE. Odisha State

Archaeology department conducted the excavation of these group burials which contained the skeletal and dental remains of several individuals, a variety of knapped and ground stone adzes, elegant stone bars, copper bangles and small implements, as well as beads. The ground stone objects proved the finest technically and artistically yet to be excavated in South Asia. Moreover, they embody the largest find of Indian stone artefacts from a sealed and excavated context hitherto to come to light on the subcontinent. [Yule and Rath 2000; 102.p.285-321] Archaeologists have dated the artefacts to be typical of the Neolithic Period although they were produced later.

The shouldered adzes (axes) excavated from burial mounds of Sanakerjang have marked technological affinities with those of Southeast Asian countries. These adzes, as a useful tool, played a dominant role in the social and political life of Southeast Asian societies in the Neolithic period.

Many of the stone bars discovered from the site give a resonance when struck and judging from the use-wear traces and shape, those have been identified as part of a lithophone, the Southeast Asia's earliest known musical instrument. Similar lithophones dating back to ancient times, have also been excavated at a number of sites in Vietnam.

The dental remains recovered in the excavation belonged to four adults and five children. Anthropological examination of these incisor teeth was conducted by Dr. Karen Hojgaard, who reported that the morphology of the teeth, such as pronounced enamel extensions and traces of the diagnostic shovel-shape, indicates racial characteristics typical of Mongolian stock. [102.p.317-318] It seems that either some of the inhabitants of Sanakerjang during the prehistoric period belonged to Mongolian race or they had come there for trade. It is pertinent to mention that a stream passing by the side of village Sanakerjang connects the river Brahmani, which was one of the maritime highways in those days.

Considering the stone adzes, lithophone bars, the dental remains, and other artefacts of Sanakerjang of Odisha and their parallels of the Southeast Asian countries, there is good reason to believe Kalinga's interaction with Southeast Asia from pre-historic period.

Excavations at **Golabai Sasan** in 1991 CE by Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), Bhubaneswar and subsequently by multi-national teams have revealed the presence of a highly developed

settlement in coastal Kalinga from the Neolithic-Chalcolithic period up to the early Iron Age. This archaeological site (Lat 20° 1' 45" N; Long 85° 33' 22" E) is situated in Khurda district of Odisha on the left bank of river Mandakini, locally called Mallaguni, a tributary of river Daya which flows in to the Chilika Lake. It is likely that the Chilika lake, in earlier times, might well have extended much beyond its limits, up to Golabai Sasan, now shifted about 20 Kilometres south-east due to siltation.

Excavated material from the site comprises a rich assemblage of polished stone tools, crude / developed bone tools, copper tools, one iron tool, pained pottery and plant and animal residues. Polished stone tools include celts, adzes, chisels and edge sharpeners. The use of copper and iron tools corroborates that the knowledge the community had of copper metallurgy, and also of extracting iron from the ores. Putting all this evidence together the archaeologists have affirmed that the settlers of Golabai were the “earliest boat people” of Odisha who laid the foundation for the famous and well-known maritime activities of the Kalingas in the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean in the later period. [102.p.322-355]

The date of the use iron from Golabai Sasan, which has been assessed to be around 1200 BCE, may be the earliest evidence in India. In fact, iron played a catalytic role in promoting agriculture and boosting crafts and trade. [102.p.322-355]

Archaeobotanical analysis of macro-botanical samples from Golabai Sasan confirm the presence of a distinct agricultural economy in Neolithic-Chalcolithic Odisha based on rice (*Oryzásatíva*), pulses (*Vigna spp.*, *Macrotyloma uniflorum* and *Cajanuscajan*) and millets (*Brachariaramosa*, *Panicum spp.*, *Setaria spp.* and possibly *Paspalum spp.*). The recovery of spikelet bases from Golabai provides direct evidence that rice had undergone the agricultural process in Odisha and was the dominant crop since the first farming settlements were established. Zoo-archaeological analysis shows that they reared cattle and buffalo. [Kingwell-Banham, E, et al. 2018.157.pp.1-14]

Golabai Sasan and Sankarjang thus hint at the possibility of maritime contacts between Southeast Asia and India in late prehistory. [115.p.23]

Manikapatna, one of the historic port sites of Odisha, is situated on the east bank of Chilika Lake, in Brahmagiri P.S. of Puri district. Chilika, the biggest brackish water inshore lake connected to

the Bay of Bengal through a narrow mouth, has also played a significant role in the maritime history of Odisha. [Tripati S. 2021.114.p.1211]

The Odishan Institute of Maritime and Southeast Asian Studies (OIMSEAS), Bhubaneswar had conducted excavations at Manikapatna between 1989 and 1993 CE. The findings from the site included Chinese celadon, coins, porcelain, Burmese pottery, Sri Lankan coin and pottery, Indonesian terracotta, Siamese pottery, Arabian pottery, Roman amphorae, glass beads, rouletted ware and Kharosthi inscription. [Pradhan D. R. 27.p.93] Monochrome glass beads recovered from Manikapatna were also reported in many Late Prehistoric sites of Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia. Glass bead manufacturing is reported from Khlong Thom in Thailand, Kuala Selinsing in Malaysia, Gilimanuk in Bali and Oc Eo in Vietnam from the early centuries of the Christian era. [102.p.571] All these artefacts prove that Manikapatna was an international port of Kalinga period having trade contacts with many countries. The discovery of sherd with Kharosthi script and the Kalinga coin of first century CE suggests that the site was under occupation before the beginning of the Christian era. [102.p.482] Prolonged trade from this port is indicated from the Chinese celadon ware and porcelain that has been dated to different centuries. Trade with the Roman Empire is evident from fine greyish-white rouletted pottery, knobbed ware and fragments of amphora. The Sri Lankan coin recovered pertains to King Sahasa Malla of the Polonnaruwa period which shows that the port was active beyond the thirteenth century CE. Incidentally, Sahasa Malla was a prince from Simhapura of Kalinga who was crowned as the King of Sri Lanka on Wednesday, August 23, 1200 CE. [184.p.309]

Literary and Epigraphic Sources

India possesses an enormous heritage of literature, accumulated over the centuries that are impregnated with history, geography, culture, adventures and achievements of the respective period. Indian literature is thought to be the world's oldest literature. The tradition of historical writing in ancient India began in the time of Vedavyasa and continued till the end of twelfth century CE. The oldest Indian historical tradition is preserved in the Rig-Veda followed by the epics and Puranas. [158.p.12] The two epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, embrace all the essential features of historical tradition

and inform us about the events that shaped our civilisation. The *Mahabharata* is called the fifth Veda. [158.p.23] Many other Hindu, Buddhist and Jain literature have made significant contributions to the evolution of historiography of ancient India. [158.p.10]

Unfortunately, some foreign scholars have considered the Indian epics and Puranas as mainly legendary and mythological collections not to be taken as formal history in comparison to ancient Greek, Roman, Chinese, Persian and Egyptian historical records. Such prejudiced and superficial misconceptions have given rise to misgivings in the minds of many. [158.p.05]

In fact, each country has its own tradition of historical writings and each tradition has its value. The value of historiographical tradition in ancient India should be judged independently, and not by comparing it with that of other countries. The said ancient Greek and Roman historians produced only political histories, whereas the ancient historians of India touched upon history- social, economic, political, religious and cultural aspects. Both ancient Indian, and classical tradition of historiography have relative value. [158.p.06-07]

Epigraphy deals with inscriptions engraved on stone, metal, pillars, walls and materials like wood, clay, shell, seal, coins, and so on. The inscriptional records reflect the historical and chronological sense of the ancient times. They supply genealogies of the reigning kings and throw light on the accomplishments, religious faith, gifts and grants made by them and their ancestors. Coins and seal do provide a lot of authentic information with reliable dates for reconstructing the past history of human communities.

The following paragraphs will deal with Kalinga's maritime activity as evidenced in literary and epigraphic records of ancient period. In fact the name 'Kalinga' shines with unblemished glow in the epics of India and the same name is very famous in the Hindu Puranas, the Buddhist and Jain literatures and in the Sri Lankan chronicles.

Earliest Recorded Sea voyage of Kalinga in Mahabharata

The *Mahabharata* is the oldest epic of the Indo-Aryans. [15.p.45] It was originally composed by Vyasadeva exactly three years after the Great Bharata battle came to an end. It was first named 'Jaya *Itibasa*'. In the text itself it has been repeatedly called an *Itibasa* (history). The *Mahabharata* as a whole contains valuable historical information about

the dynastic history, and genealogies of the Lunar race of both pre- and post-Bharata war period, towns and cities, kingdoms and republics, kingship and state, polity and administration, the contemporary social and religious conditions of the people, etc. [158.p.30-31] That the epic possesses a solid substratum of historical truth, has been authenticated from the archaeological discovery of the remains of sunken Dwaraka city in the Arabian Sea.

This great epic reveals that Kalinga had the earliest harbour facility for sea voyages. The '*Tirtha-Yatra Parva*' describes the incident of Pandavas boarding a craft at Baitarani *tirtha* for their coastal cruise up to Mahendra Mountain. In that sea voyage the Rishi Lomasa was the guiding spirit, who asked the Pandavas to take holy plunge before they set out for their destination Mahendragiri Parvata in the distant Kalinga.

Reaching the coast near Mahendra Mountain, Yudhishtira with his brothers climbed to the abode of the mighty-souled Parasurama and paid the highest honours to the lord and other religious personalities inhabiting the sacred mountain. From Mahendra, the Pandava brothers resumed their journey towards the southern regions. [159.p.251-256]

This legendary account of the oceanic journey of Pandava brothers would substantiate the fact that the mouth of Baitarani and the coast near Mahendra Mountain served as the maritime gateway of east-coast of India from the Mahabharata period. The age of Mahabharata has been variously calculated by different scholars. The Institute of Scientific Research on Vedas (I-SERVE), New Delhi, in September, 2015 exhibited evidence that "Pandavas left for 13 years of exile after losing everything in a game of dice" in 3153 BCE. Subhash Kak, 2015 suggests that the Mahabharata War took place in 3137 BCE. In any case it is more than 5000 years before our time and during that hoary past Kalinga had the harbour facilities for sea voyage. This is perhaps the oldest recorded sea voyage of the world.

Vijaya's Expedition to Sri Lanka in Sixth Century BCE

The *Mahavamsa*, one of the oldest chronicles of the world, covers the longest unbroken historical accounts of Sri Lanka. Buddhist monks of the Anuradhapura Maha Vihara maintained records of Sri Lankan history starting from the time of Gautama Buddha and that was latter compiled by Mahanama, the author of *Mahavamsa*. It is one of the

few documents containing materials relating to the indigenous inhabitants of Sri Lanka prior to the arrival of Prince Vijaya from Simhapura (Singhapura). The *Mahavamsa* also refers to Indian royal dynasties and hence is valuable to historians who wish to date and relate contemporary royal dynasties of the Indian subcontinent. This irreplaceable literary source is very important in dating the consecration of the Maurya emperor Asoka, which is related to the synchronicity with the Seleucids and Alexander the Great. The accounts given in this chronicle are also amply supported by numerous stone inscriptions, found in India and Sri Lanka.

Vijaya's lineage and expedition has been narrated by the author of *Mahavamsa* in a different version of the ancient fairy tale: 'The Beauty and the Beast' story. It tells that a princess of Kalinga (present-day Odisha) married a king of Vanga (present-day Bengal) and they had a lovely daughter for whom the soothsayers prophesied union with the king of beasts. On reaching puberty, the daughter went forth from the house, desiring the joy of independent life. She joined a caravan travelling to the Magadha country (present-day Bihar). On the way a lion attacked the caravan; the folk fled in various directions, but the princess proceeded along the way by which the lion had come. Seeing her from a distance, the lion was attracted towards her and came with wagging tail and ears. Remembering the prophecy of the soothsayers she caressed him without fear. The lion, roused to fiercest passion by her touch, took her upon his back and fled to his cave. From their union were born two children; a son and a daughter. The son's hands and feet were formed like a lion's for which he was named Simhabahu, the daughter was named Sihasivali. [160.p.51]

When Simhabahu grew up, he escaped with his mother and sister and reached a border-village, where they met the son of the princess's uncle, an army commander of the Vanga king. On hearing from the princess regarding her family and clan, the commander took his uncle's daughter with him and went to the capital of the Vanga and married her. [160.p.52] The king of Vanga died soon without an heir. Simhabhau was declared the new king by the ministers, but he later handed over the kingship to his mother's husband, went back to his birthplace and founded the city named Simhapura.

As time passed, Simhabahu had 32 sons of which Vijaya was the eldest. The conduct of Vijaya and his friends was unbearably painful for the local people. Vexed with repeated protest by the anguished

people, Simhabahu decided to banish Vijaya and his followers. They along with their wives and children were put on ships and sent forth upon the sea. The men, women, and children sent forth separately landed separately, each upon an island, and they dwelt even there. The valiant prince Vijaya landed in Lanka, in the region called Tambapanni, on the day that the Gautama Buddha lay down between the twins like Sala-trees to pass into nirvana. [160.p.53-54] Vijaya defeated the local chief, established the ‘Sinhala race’ (the ‘Sinhala Jathiya’), planted the Lion Flag and ruled all over Lanka for thirty-eight years. Thus began the history of Sri Lanka.

Simhapura was well-known as one of the chief cities of Kalinga mentioned in quite a number of early Kalinga grants and in early Buddhist literature. However, there has been conflicting reports by scholars locating Simhapura in different parts of India and elsewhere. But the historical geography as recounted in *Mahavamsa*, and epigraphic records of India and Sri Lanka substantiate the location of Simhapura in Kalinga from where prince Vijay sailed, from Kalinga to Sri Lanka in the sixth century BCE.

Asoka’s anguish to annihilate Kalinga’s naval power in third century BCE

With the rise of the Mauryas in fourth century BCE, Magadha became a strong and powerful state in India. Emperor Asoka Maurya inherited a vast empire built by his grandfather Chandragupta Maurya with the statesmanship of Chanakya (Kautilya). Yet, amazing as it sounds, Kalinga being so close to their seat of power, was not a part of that great empire. Chandragupta who could defeat the Greek Seleukos and annex the territories of Kabul, Kandahar, Herat and Baluchistan in the north-west, and conquer lands very far into the south, did not attempt to annex Kalinga so near to his centre of activities. His son and successor Bindusara was also a powerful monarch as his title *Amitraghata* or Slayer of the Foes, suggests; but he, too, did not attempt to antagonise Kalinga. [113.p.87] The Greek diplomat and ethnographer Megasthenes, as an ambassador to the court of Chandragupta Maurya, observed in curiosity the existence of an independent territory of powerful Kalinga on the border of the Mauryan Empire. Pliny borrowing from Megasthenes, mentions that the tribes called Calingae (Kalinga) lived nearest to the sea and their king maintained sixty thousand infantry, one thousand cavalry, and seven hundred elephants as its peace strength. Kalinga’s

economic prosperity sustained its sovereignty at a time, when about three-fourth of India and the external territories were conquered by Asoka's grandfather.

Major source of Kalinga's prosperity was its naval-power and flourishing maritime trade with the outside world. Modern historians are of the view that while Bindusara, the second in line of Maurya dynasty, remained busy in consolidating the empire as a territorial power, Kalinga tried to build-up her strength as an overseas power and established her colonies in Burma and Philippines and even spread her influence over the islands of Indian archipelago. The overseas activities of Kalinga threatened the economic and commercial interest of Magadha. As Magadha was not an important sea power, she had to depend on other friendly states having overseas commerce to sustain her own economic interest. She would face economic collapse if the coast would be blocked against her. [02.p.41-42]

The Mauryas by that time had not built up a naval power, and the Navadhyaksa or the Superintendent of Shipping mentioned by Chanakya was in charge of policing the rivers, lakes and seashores rather than organising the ships for maritime enterprises. The aversion of Chanakya (Kautilya) for trade in the mid-ocean (Samyanapatha) and his preference for trade along the coast (Kulapatha) amply suggests that the Mauryas were lagging behind in overseas trade. Moreover, important trade routes from the Gangetic valley and further South passed through Kalinga, and the control of these routes was perhaps considered essential for the interest of Magadha. Thus, the growing Magadha Empire in spite of its foreign associations and internal resources was confronted with commercial crisis. It was probably rightly apprehended that the continued existence of a flourishing Kalinga with her thriving trade might have adversely affected the economy of the Mauryan Empire. [27.p.221-NKS]

During the reign of Asoka, the seafarers of Kalinga practically monopolised the over-seas trade in the Indian Ocean and were characterised as serpents of the sea. Their hostile attitude inflicted a serious damage on economy of Magadha which is alluded to by the Tibetan scholar, Lama Taranatha. In the account of the period of King Asoka, Taranatha writes that "once the king Asoka sent five hundred merchants to collect gems from the Treasure Island. Their voyage was successful and they were returning with the cargo of

various gems. When they halted for rest on this side of the sea, the *Nagas* (sea serpents) sent waves to carry away their merchandise. They had to return depending on other sources of livelihood. It was rumoured in Pataliputra that the merchants were going to be back within seven days. On the seventh day, when the king along with the people came to the garden, they saw the merchants returning only with their upper garments on, and looking exhausted. Everybody was amused by this unexpected sight and burst into laughter. The king enquired the cause. The merchants narrated their story thus, ‘Oh lord, if you do not take some measure to subdue the *Nagas*, nobody from now on will be willing to go to collect the gems. Oh king, please take some measure.’ [137.p.57-58] Eggermont, interprets the *Nagas* as the seafaring people of Kalinga.

The Tibetan account hints at the real cause of invasion of Kalinga. Asoka wished to control both the land and the sea route on the east coast of India and to vanquish any hostile power obstructing the route. And for that war with Kalinga was a pressing necessity for him. In about 261 BCE Asoka campaigned against Kalinga. It was one of the most catastrophic wars of ancient history fought desperately by both sides, the invaders having an edge over the defenders because of the resources of an all-India empire at their back. [113.p.88] The severity of the war recorded in Asoka’s proclamation recounts that nearly one hundred thousand men were slain and many times that number died, evidently of privation. One hundred and fifty thousand souls from Kalinga were carried away as captives. The edict however, gives the picture of the suffering and casualties on the side of Kalinga, and speaks nothing about the loss of Magadha.

However, it is not the course of the war which mattered, but the consequences of “Kalinga War”, which became a turning point in human history. Kalinga conquered her conqueror and implanted the spirit of *AHIMSA* that pierced so deep into the heart of Asoka that he vowed to renounce the war for once and all. [113.p.88] The repentance of Asoka has been recorded in his thirteenth Major Rock Edict as under:

“On conquering Kalinga the Beloved of the Gods felt remorse, for, when an independent country is conquered the slaughter, death, and deportation of the people is extremely grievous to the Beloved of the Gods, and weighs heavily on his mind. What is even more deplorable to the Beloved of the Gods, is that those who dwell there, whether

brahmans, sramanas, or those of other sects, or householders who show obedience to their superiors, obedience to mother and father, obedience to their teachers and behave well and devotedly towards their friends, acquaintances, colleagues, relatives, slaves, and servants- all suffer violence, murder, and separation from their loved ones. Even those who are fortunate to have escaped, and whose love is undiminished [by the brutalising effect of war] suffer from the misfortunes of their friends, acquaintances, colleagues, and relatives. This participation of all men in suffering, weighs heavily on the mind of the Beloved of the Gods.” [72.p.383]

The remaining part of Asoka’s reign is known to the world. The Emperor embraced the Buddhism and devoted himself to its propagation, sending embassies and missions to different countries.

Eminent historians are of the view that large scale migration from Kalinga to Southeast Asia took place before and during the bloody invasion of Kalinga in third century BCE. Dr. Thaper’s translation of Asoka’s thirteenth Edict states that a sizeable number of powerful and well-off people escaped, whom he calls “fortunate”. [80.p.181] The only escape route was the vast expanse of the Bay of Bengal, which led to the islands of Indian Ocean. Kalinga, in control of the maritime trade routes to Southeast Asia had already established commercial hubs in island countries at strategic locations. The assault on Kalinga induced the seafarers to escape to those colonies in large numbers.

The Emperor Kharavela invigorates Kalinga’s maritime command in the first century BCE

The most important historical records of pre-Christian era that applaud Kalinga’s power and prosperity in Indian sub-continent is the Hatigumpha inscription of the Emperor Kharavela.

The political power of Maurya dynasty began to decline shortly after the Kalinga war. Asoka abandoned statecraft for religion and paved the way for disintegration of the empire. After the death of Asoka, Mauryan rulers continued to rule for another half-century until the dynasty collapsed completely in the earlier part of the second century BCE, and gave way to the Sungas to occupy Magadha. Kalinga regained her independence after the death of Asoka and was ruled by the local dynasty, the ‘*Kalinga Raja Vamsa*’, till it became one of the strongest powers in India under the reign of Chedi dynasty.

The monarchs of Chedi family assumed the pompous title of *Mahamegha-vahana* or the ‘Rider of the Mighty Clouds’. It is an expression as if to claim the powers of *Indra*, the God of the Heavens. One of the rulers of this dynasty has left an imperishable record of his rule on the rocks of Khandagiri-Udayagiri of Bhubaneswar, the present capital of Odisha. The King was Kharavela and his inscription is famous as the Hatigumpha Inscription. He was the greatest monarch of ancient Kalinga who built a far-flung empire in the first century BCE with Kalinganagar as his capital. [113.p.89]

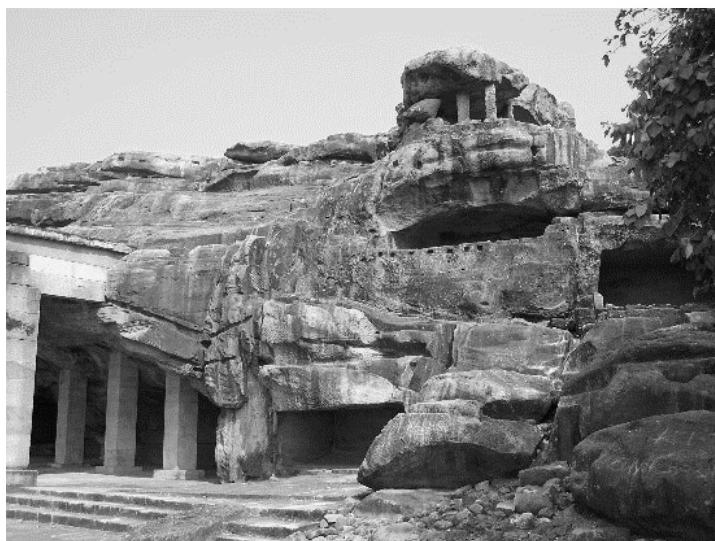


Fig 2. Kharavela's Hatigumpha inscription

This rock-cut inscription consisting of seventeen lines has been incised partly in front and partly on the roof of the Hatigumpha, an artificial cave, on southern face of the Udayagiri, a low hill range in Bhubaneswar. It was noticed for the first time by A. Stirling in 1825 and was deciphered and published by James Prinsep from an eye-copy prepared by Kittoe in 1837. The first authentic reading of the inscription is credited to historian Bhagwan Lal Indraji in 1885. Since then many scholars of India and abroad have attempted to translate the inscription; but a more authentic transcription could be made by K. P. Jayaswal, and Professor R. D. Banerji, Benares Hindu University, in 1929 and published in *Epigraphia Indica* Volume-XX, 1929-30, pp. 71-89. Some improvements have also been made in subsequent years by other scholars. [184.p.93]

Hatigumpha Inscription provides enough clues to the existence of ruling chiefs in Kalinga prior to the first century BCE. The expression '*Kalinga Raja Vamse*' (in the ruling family of Kalinga) in third line and '*Kalinga Purvarajanivesitam*' (founded by the earlier Kings of Kalinga) in fifth line of this inscription suggests the continuity of Kalinga dynasty in second century BCE though, so far, we are ignorant of their identity.[184.p.92] The record also supplies us with many important facts about the history of India. In the first place, we get a glimpse into the life and training of Indian princes in the first century BCE and earlier.

Kharavela was installed as heir-apparent in his fifteenth year. After nine years he ascended the throne. He not only gave India a great empire but also saved India once more from the onslaughts of the Greek invaders. Unlike most of the great emperors of India, this emperor ruled for a very brief period of time, yet within that brief period he dazzled the history with successful wars and far-flung conquests. During Kharavela's reign, Kalinga conquered the Uttarapatha, the Dakshinapatha and the Madhyadesha. Thus with an army so estimated, Kharavela launched the first of his many campaigns in the second year of his reign. It was a march into the Deccan, the invasion of the Dakhin. [134.p.37-47]

After successful military achievements in the south, Kharavela turned his might upon the north. He invaded Rajagriha in the eighth year of his reign and in course of that campaign destroyed the fortress of Gorathagiri. His further northward march coincided with the invasion of the Indo-Greeks in the north under one of their rulers whom the Hatigumpha inscription describes as Yavanaraja Dimita. The Yavanas had penetrated as far as Mathura while the Kalinga army was advancing beyond Rajagriha. By way of a patriotic duty Kharavela hastened towards Mathura, liberated that famous city and drove out the invaders from north-western India. On return to his capital Kalinganagari after that successful campaign, the Emperor erected a gigantic palace of victory at a fabulous expense.[113.p.90]

Amid the names of those proud and patriotic sons of India who from time immemorial had fought in that eternal clash between India and her invaders, the name of Kharavela was one that was immensely dreaded by the enemies of his motherland. [134.p.83]

Kalinganagari, the present Sisupagada in Bhubaneswar, as the metropolis of Kharavela's dominion was connected by highways with other parts of India like Asika of Mysore in South India; Mathura,

Pataliputra and Rajagriha in North India and Nasik of Maharastra in Western India. These highways served as arteries of commerce and communication in the succeeding centuries. On the basis of archaeological evidence furnished by the Sisupalgarh excavation, Kalinganagari is believed to have been founded in the third century BCE but had come into prominence in first century BCE. [113.p.68]

Kharavela revitalised Kalinga and restored its supremacy over the maritime trade with full control of the east coast of India. The traditional rival, Tamil confederacy, which included Cholas, Pandyas, Satyaputras, Keralaputras and Tamraparni (Sri Lanka), were subjugated by Kharavela in his eleventh regnal year. The Hatigumpha inscription records that the Pandya king on behalf of the league brought to Kalinganagari large quantities of pearls, jewels and precious stones as a token of allegiance. [184.p.99]

Ptolemy in second century CE locates Apheterion for Khryse in Kalinga coast

Claudius Ptolemy (c. 100 – c. 170 CE) was a Roman mathematician, geographer and astronomer who wrote about a dozen of scientific treatises. His treatises on Astronomy, Geography and Astrology are considered important and globally referred to by scholars. The Treatises on Geography that provides a comprehensive list of settlements and harbours of ancient India, has been translated by McCrindle, 1885. In this text the ports, marts and river mouths of Kalinga are mentioned in set 16 and 17 under the sub-heading “The Gangetic Gulf”; which are as follows:

In the Gangetic Gulf

16. Paloura, a town

Nanigaina

Katikardama

Kannagara

Mouth of the River Manada

17. Mapoura

Minnagara

Mouth of the Dosaron

Kokala

Mouth of the River Adamas

Kosamba or Kosaba [161.p.69]

Scholars are generally agreed regarding the identification of the Ptolemaic geographical names on east coast of India. This is particularly so in regard to the Gangetic delta. [101.p.22] Recent archaeological explorations have helped a great deal in determining the present position of most of these places of second century CE.

Paloura, the southernmost town of the Gangetic Gulf, has been stated by Ptolemy as the point of departure (*Apheterion*) for ships bound for South-east Asia (*Khryse* or *Chryse*). He evidently means that the voyage track of ships for Southeast Asia used to follow the littoral route up to a point near Paloura on Kalinga coast; from where they struck off from the coast and entered the high seas.

Gerini's research on Ptolemy's Geography, 1909, reports that Ptolemy's Apheterion- the Paloura town-has still survived in Palur village on the coastal stretch of Ganjam district of Odisha. [162.p.743] The location is in the neighbourhood of Mount Mahendra of the Eastern Ghats, which was considered for a long time as a 'navigational landmark' on the east-coast of India. In those days a natural landmark of sufficient height, visible at least from a distance of 10-20 nautical miles was obligatory for disembarkation of the ships. Therefore the ships might have preferred to make a coastal voyage up to a point close to Mahendragiri and then take a turn towards the east. The Chilika Lake, river mouth of Rushikulya and Mahendra tanaya on the nearby coast line provided sheltered mooring facility. These practical considerations of landmarks, coastal geomorphology and navigational advantage were charted by European navigators till the eighteenth century as revealed from Dutch records.

All these point out that Kalinga as the particular region in India was more intimately connected with the Southeast Asia in the early period. [29.p.07]

Hiuen Tsiang discovers International Emporium in Odisha in seventh century CE

Hiuen Tsiang, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim who visited India in seventh century CE, is variously named by different authors: e.g. Stanislas Julien spells the name as Hiouen Thsang, Mayers as Huan Chwang, Mr. Wylie as Yuen Chwang, Prof. Legge as Hsuan Chwang, Prof. Bunyiu Nanjo as Hhuen Kwan and Mr. Beal as Hiuen Tsiang. Many prefer to call him as 'Xuanzang'. Other names that are

frequently met with are Hsüan-tsang, Táng-sānzàng, Hiouen Thsang, Hsien-tsang, Hsyan-tsang, Hsuan Chwang, Hsuan Tsiang, Xuan Zang, Shuen Shang, Yuan Chang, and Yuen Chwang. However, in this book, we opted for the name 'Hiuen Tsang' in harmony with English translation of his travel record by Samuel Beal, 1884.

'Hiuen Tsang was born in the year 603 CE, at Ch'in Liu, in the province of Ho-nan, close to the provincial city. At the age of twenty, he was fully ordained as a Bhikshu or priest. In 629 CE, he set out his journey to India to seek for the law. The pilgrim entered Kabul from Tibet, about the end of May, 630 CE, and after many wanderings and several long halts, crossed the Indus in April of the following year. He spent several months in Taxila for the purpose of visiting the holy places of Buddhism, and then proceeded to Kashmir, where he stayed for two whole years to study some of the more learned works of his religion. On his journey eastward he visited places of pilgrimage including Jalandhar, Mathura, Thaneswar [in Kurukshetra District of Haryana], Rohilkhand [near present Bareilly], Kannauj, Kosambi [near Allahabad], Ayodhya and Sravasti. From there, he resumed his easterly route to visit the scenes of the Buddha's birth and death at Kapilavastu and Kushinagar; and once more returned westward to the holy city of Banaras where the Buddha first began to teach his religion. Again resuming his easterly route he visited the famous city of Vaisali in Tirhut, from where he crossed the Ganges to the ancient city of Pataliputra, [Patna in Bihar]. From Patna, he proceeded to Gaya to offer worship at numerous holy places including the sacred Bodhi-tree (*Ficus religiosa*) at Bodh Gaya, under which Buddha meditated for enlightenment. He next visited the ancient cities of Rajagriha, the early capitals of Magadha, (now Rajgir in Nalanda district of Bihar), and the great monastery of Nalanda, where he halted for fifteen months to study the Sanskrit language.

Towards the end of 638 CE he resumed his easterly journey and visited the ancient kingdoms of North-Bihar, North-Bengal, Bangladesh and the North-East including Assam, then known as Kamarupa. From Assam he came down to Samatata, an ancient kingdom in coastal Bangladesh and from there to Tamralipti, (present Tamluk), and Karnasuvarna, now in Murshidabad district of West Bengal.

In early 639 CE, he came from Karnasuvarna to ‘Odra’, the north Odisha, from there to ‘Kongoda’, the central Odisha, to ‘Kalinga’ then south Odisha and Kosala, the western Odisha. Resuming his southerly course he passed through Andhra, Dhanakataka, (Amaravati area), Chola and Dravida kingdoms now a part of Tamil Nadu.

After visiting the southern and western India, Hiuen Tsiang returned to Patna in early parts of 643 CE. There he attended the Quinquennial Assembly organised by Harsavardhana and accompanied him to Kannauj. At Kannauj he took leave of Harsavardhana, to resume his return journey through Jalandhar. He carried with him many statues and a large number of religious books. He crossed the Indus towards the end of 643 CE. On his return to China, Hiuen Tsiang compiled the records of his travels, the *Hsi-yu-chi* (Si Yu Ki). [184.p.127-131]

The pilgrim in his travel record of territories on the east coast of India, has mentioned about a flourishing international trade emporium at “Che-Li-Ta-Lo” in ‘Odra’ (U-Cha) country as under:

‘On the south-east frontiers of the country, on the borders of the ocean, is the town “Che-Li-Ta-Lo”, about 20 li round. Here it is merchants depart for distant countries, and strangers come and go and stop here on their way. The walls of the city are strong and lofty. Here are found all sorts of rare and precious articles.’

The seventh century kingdom of ‘Odra’ now a part of northern Odisha, was earlier included in ancient Kalinga and the above declaration of Hiuen Tsiang indicates that this part of the country continued to be an international maritime hub till that period. He also mentioned about the existence of ports, harbours and trading activity in respect of other places such as Tamralipti, Kongoda and Dravida; but certainly not of the magnitude of Che-Li-Ta-Lo, for which the pilgrim has made a special mention. A brief comparative statement of Hiuen Tsiang’s description of the realms he visited in east coast of India is presented in the table below:

Kingdom	Dimension of the country in Li	Resources	Trade & Commerce	Special Remark
Samatata (Now in Bangladesh)	3000	Regularly cultivated, rich in crops	xxxx	Nirgranthas most numerous

Tamralipti	1400 to 1500	Regularly cultivated, produces flowers and fruits in abundance	Articles of value and gems are collected here in abundance	Borders on the sea
Karnasuvarna	1400 to 1500	Regularly cultivated, and produces in abundance	xxxx	Thickly populated, very rich households
Odra	7000	Abundance of grain and every kind of fruit is grown more than in other countries. It would be difficult to name the strange shrubs and the famed flowers that grow here.	On the south-east frontiers of the country, on the borders of the ocean, is the town "Che-Li-Ta-Lo", about 20 li round. Here it is merchants depart for distant countries, and strangers come and go and stop here on their way.	In a great mountain on the south-west is a sangharama called Pushpagiri (Pu-se-po-k'i-li); the stone stupa belonging to it exhibits very many spiritual wonders (miracles).
Kongoda	1000	Regularly cultivated and productive	There are several small towns contiguous to the sea. Abounds in many rare and valuable articles. Use cowrie shells and pearls in commercial transactions.	Soldiers are brave and daring; they rule by force. The great greenish-blue elephants, comes from this country
Kalinga	5000	Regularly cultivated and is productive. Flowers and fruits are very abundant	xxxx	Forests and jungle are continuous for many hundred li. Produces the great tawny wild elephant, much prized by others.
Kosala	5000	yields abundant crops	xxxx	Full of hills and forests. The population is very dense.
Andhra	3000	Regularly cultivated, and produces abundance of cereals	xxxx	The temperature is hot, and the manners of people fierce and impulsive
Dhanakataka	6000	Regularly cultivated, affording abundant harvests.	xxxx	Much desert country and the towns are thinly populated.
Chola	2500	Deserted and wild, a succession of marshes and jungle.	xxxx	Population is very small

Dravida	6000	Soil is fertile, regularly cultivated, produces abundance of grain, flowers and fruits.	It produces precious gems and other articles	People are learned, courageous, deeply attached to honesty and truth
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The above account reveals that Odra was the largest in extent amongst these kingdoms and the resources were in plenty. It nurtured a rich biodiversity difficult to be identified by the pilgrim. From its city “Che-Li-Ta-Lo”, merchants sailed for distant countries, and foreigners visited the place regularly. All sorts of rare and precious articles were traded in that locality. It is pertinent to note that ‘Che-Li-Ta-Lo’ in Odra is the only enterpot of international repute that has caught the attention of Hiuen Tsiang on the east coast of India between the river Meghna of Bangladesh and Cauvery of Tamil Nadu.

Transfer of Buddhist Tantra from Odra to China in eighth century CE

Chinese sources acknowledge Subhakarasimha, a former member of Bhaumakara dynasty of Odisha, as the founder preceptor of ‘Tantrayana Buddhism’ in China at the beginning of the eighth century CE. Subhakarasimha, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra were the celebrated tantric teachers who were best known for their miraculous powers. The scholarly accomplishments of these masters were duly recorded by Tsan-ning (919-1001), in a compilation titled ‘*Sung kao-sengchuan*’ – ‘Sung Period Edition of the Biographies of Eminent Monks’; that was imperially commissioned in 983 CE and finished in 988 CE. ‘*Sung kao-sengchuan*’ was translated by Chou Yi-Liang, in his essay “*Tantrism in China*,” published in the ‘*Havard Journal of Asiatic Studies*’, 1945 and republished in ‘*Tantric Buddhism in East Asia*’, edited by Richard K. Payne, 2006. Chou Yi-Liang’s essay is a foundational work for the study of East Asian Tantra and the information it provides about the founders of tantric Buddhism in China has moulded the way the subject has been studied ever since.

The name of Subhakarasimha in the Chinese chronicle was Ching-shih tzu, translated as ‘Shan-wu-wei’. In Japanese, he is named as Zenmui; in Korean, Seonmuoe; and in Vietnamese, Thien Vo Uy. However, in the following paragraphs, while discussing the memoir, we would use the Odia name ‘Subhakarasimha’ and its Chinese rendering ‘Shan-wu-wei’.

Subhakarasimha (637-735 CE) belonged to the royal family of Odisha, then known as Odra. From his birth he appeared like a divinity and was endowed with virtues and accomplishments. His father tested him in a successively variety of positions. At the age of ten, he was in command of the army; and at thirteen, he succeeded to the throne. In view of family dispute for the throne, Subhakarasimha decided to become an ascetic. One day, taking permission of his mother, he left the palace and went to a monastery, where he practiced and mastered the *Saddharmapundarika-samadhi*. He studied yoga, meditation, dharanis, mudras and the secret doctrines of Tantra. Thereafter he sailed to many countries to preach his doctrine. While on board in a merchant ship, he saved the merchants from attack of pirates though his magic power. He once had a vision of Sakyamuni with attendants as if they were bodily present.

At the invitation of Emperor Hsuan-tsung (713-755 CE), Shubhakarasimha arrived in China in 716 CE. He was received with great honour and was declared as the “Teacher of the country”. While in China, Subhakarasimha (Shan-wu-wei) demonstrated powerful skill for gaining control over supernatural forces. He translated the *Mahavairochanabhisambodhi* into Chinese in 725 CE. I-tsing assisted him in translation of several other texts. ‘In 732 CE, ‘Shan-wu-wei asked permission to return to India but the Emperor did not grant his request. Three years later, at the age of 99, the great master passed away. The Emperor was shocked and grieved. The title of Director of the Court of State Ceremonial was bestowed on him.’ Subhakarasimha had a number of disciples who propagated the doctrine of Tantric Buddhism in other countries of Southeast Asia.

The Bhaumakara family of Odisha continued to maintain their relationship with the emperors of Tang dynasty of China. About eight decades after Subhakarasimha’s astounding achievements in popularising Tantrayana, another member of the family, king Sri-Subhakaradeva-I (780-800 CE) sent an autographed manuscript of *Avatamsaka* to the Chinese emperor in 795 CE. Professor Sylvain Levi, (1863-1935) a French orientalist, reports that ‘emperor Te-tsung received, as a token of homage, an autographed manuscript addressed to him by ‘the king of the realm Wu-ch’ā (Uda= Odisha), who had deep faith in the Sovereign Law, and who followed the practice of the Sovereign Mahayana. The king’s name as translated from Chinese was “the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion”. The name has been interpreted to Sri Subhakara Simha

(‘fortunate’ being the regular equivalent of Sri; ‘who does what is pure’ is the transliteration of *Subha* (what is pure), *Kara* (who does); and ‘the lion’ denotes *Simba* or *Kesari*).

The manuscript presented to the Chinese emperor contained the last section of the Avatamaska, the section treating the practice and the vow of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra. In other words, it was the Gondavyuha, of which the original is preserved among the Nepalese collections. Prior to this, the Avatamaska had been translated twice into Chinese, first by Buddhabhadra, between 398 and 421 CE, then by Sikshananda, between 695 and 699 CE. The new text from Wu-ch'a (Uda= Odisha) and the accompanying letter were entrusted to the monk Prajna for translation. Prajna a native of Kapisa, had studied the doctrines of Buddhism in northern India, central India and at Nalanda. He visited the sacred places, and thus passed eighteen years in learning. Afterwards he had settled in ‘the monastery of the king of Wu-ch'a (Uda=Odisha), to study Yoga there. He had next moved to China, and made his debut there in 788 CE by a translation of the Shat-paramita-sutra.[184.p.213-218]

From these historical events as recounted by eminent scholars, it appears that Odra-kingdom (a part of ancient Kalinga) had maintained a responsive diplomatic relation with China, during the eighth century CE, probably due to a flourishing maritime-trade, between the two countries. The Bhaumakara family that ruled Odisha during the eighth and ninth centuries CE, patronised Mahayana-Buddhism and Saivite-Hinduism. They not only excelled in maritime trade but spread the ‘Siva-Buddha’ tradition throughout Southeast Asia.

Odisha’s cultural and commercial relationship with China probably continued till a later period. From the Chinese writer Wang Ta-Yuan (14th century CE) we learn that “because of the cheapness of living in Odisha nine out of ten persons going there for trade did not like to return home. Rice which was evidently the staple food of the people, was sold at the unbelievably low price of 46 baskets for one *conwie*. [113.p.120]

Srivijaya: the Indonesian Maritime Hegemon

Around the seventh century CE, Srivijaya, an Indianised kingdom based on the island of Sumatra, influenced much of the Southeast Asian maritime trade. During the early years of its development, Srivijaya contemplated to gain control over the international

commercial route and become the most prominent regional participant in the flows of East-West trade. With the ambition to achieve the status of China's preferred trade partner, Srivijaya pursued an aggressive policy and by 683 CE, it had established its political supremacy not only over Malayu (Jambi), but also over the neighbouring island of Bangka. By 700 CE, Srivijaya had acquired a territorial outpost on the south-western Malaya Peninsula, which gave it a commanding position on the straits of Malacca. [184.p.192]

The earliest evidence about Srivijaya comes from a number of seventh century stone inscriptions from southeast Sumatra which mention the name 'Srivijaya' and from references in seventh century Chinese records to a place called Shih-li-fo-shih – the Chinese rendering of Srivijaya. The references to Srivijaya in the Chinese records, and then from the ninth century in Arab sources as well, describe it as a place of significance and status in the region so that it attracted a great deal of trade. It was also renowned as a centre of Buddhist learning where Chinese pilgrims could go to study and prepare for visits to the holy sites of Buddhism in India. [90.p.47]

However, the existence of this realm was forgotten till it was made known to the world by the French historian George Coedes through his publication in the Dutch and Indonesian language newspapers. His pioneering article "*Le Royaume de Crivijaya*", 1918, aroused an astounding opinion on Srivijaya. It was regarded as one of the major kingdoms or empires of Southeast Asia which occupied and controlled, besides Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula and the Sunda Strait and thus was able to monopolise the international trade of Southeast Asia. But according to Hermann Kulke, 1993, such an elucidation of Srivijaya has been questioned by several scholars during recent years. In 1973, Bronson raised serious doubts about the alleged continuous existence of a polity called Srivijaya from the seventh to thirteenth centuries. According to the few epigraphic and archaeological sources "Srivijaya might have been a minor kingdom that ceased to exist within a hundred years after its founding in 650 CE". [66.p.159]

In spite of Srivijayan thalassocracy, the merchants from different parts of India, Arabia and other Southeast Asian kingdoms were having trade with China, which is evident from an imperial edict of 695 CE. In that year, orders were issued for supplying provisions to the ambassadors of different countries then living in the Chinese court. Thus provisions for six months were to be given to

ambassadors from North India, South India, Persia, and Arabia; provisions for five months were to be given to ambassadors from Sri-Vijaya, Chen-la (Cambodia), Holing (Kalinga in Java) and other kingdoms; to envoys from Champa provisions were to be given only for three months". [29.p.124] It appears, therefore, that Holing in Java was at par with Srivijaya in matters of trade relationship with China.

The Chinese connection was critical to Srivijaya's prosperity and that Srivijaya's power was dependent upon the fluctuations of the Chinese economy. When trade with China's ports was prosperous, Srivijaya thrived. But when China's ports periodically closed, the economic repercussions were disastrous to Srivijaya's political authority. With declining revenues from trade, Srivijaya was unable to maintain the loyalty of its seafarers, who shifted their energies to open piracy. In the quest for commercial monopoly, Srivijaya continued sending missions to China more frequently in the first half of the eighth century. [184.p.192]

During its heydays, from the eighth to the tenth centuries, Srivijaya sought to control the shortest all-sea passage between the West and China, as well as the final stage of the route between the Spice Islands and the Strait of Malacca. The Srivijayan rulers were only concerned with occupying strategic points on the main trade routes. The local chiefs were probably often invested as vassals. But Java defied coming under its suzerainty and Srivijaya sent an unsuccessful military expedition to this powerful kingdom. Java with Kalinga support was capable enough to compete with Srivijaya's thalassocracy. This incident about the Srivijaya's effort to subdue Bhumi Java has been referred to in the Kota Kapur inscription of 28 April, 686 CE. [184.p.192]



Fig 3. Prasasti Kota Kapur

Javanese rulers developed competing trade relationships of their own by exploiting east Java's strategic position adjacent to the international maritime trade route to eastern Indonesia's Spice Islands. Srivijaya also strived to retain their position as an important naval and commercial power in the region. Vying for each other's supremacy in the regional trade brought about a collision between the two countries leading to intermittent raids and counter raids. Around 928-929 CE, according to a surviving 937 CE inscription, Pu Sindok, the ruler of Java, fought off an attack by the Malayu-based army of Srivijaya. The inscription states that the Srivijayan forces landed in east Java and advanced to the area near Nganjuk, some distance into Java's hinterland, where they were defeated. ([24.p.137]

The chronicle of Sung dynasty of China also reflects on the hostile relationship between Srivijaya and Java. It reports "that in 988 CE an ambassador from San-fo-tsi (Srivijaya) came with tribute to China. He left the imperial capital in 990 CE, but, on reaching Canton, learnt that his country had been invaded by Cho-p'o (Java). So he rested there for about a year. In the spring of 992 CE, the ambassador went with his navy to Champa, but as he did not receive any good news there, he came back to China and requested the emperor to issue a decree making San-fo-tsi (Srivijaya) a protectorate of China." [29.p.166]

Chola Supremacy

The Chola dynasty was one of the longest ruling dynasties of South India that continued from hoary antiquity. Traditionally, the Chola kingdom comprised the fertile valley of river Cauvery, extending along the Coromandel Coast. However, from beginning of tenth century CE, "the Cholas entered upon a career of aggressive imperialism. By a succession of great victories, Rajaraja Chola-I, (985-1014 CE) made himself the lord paramount of Southern India. His still more famous son Rajendra Chola-I (1014-1044 CE) raised the Chola power to its climax, and his conquests extended as far as Bengal in the north." (29.p.167) Towards the end of the tenth and the early part of the eleventh century, Cholas were also a great naval power on the east coast of India and played a remarkable role in maritime trade of Southeast Asia.

In order to maintain and strengthen its privileged position in eastern Asia and to contest Java's dominance in the region, the Sumatran thalassocratic state Srivijaya sought to establish friendly

diplomatic relations with the powerful Chola kings. The copper-plate charter of Rajaraja Chola-I, preserved in the Leiden University Museum of Holland, and popularly known as the Larger Leiden Grants, records that the ruler of Srivijaya named Maravijayottungavarman, son of Chulamanivarman of the Sailendra family had erected a shrine of the Buddha in the name of his father at the delightful city of Nagapattinam, then called Nagapattana. In the twenty-first year of his reign (1005 CE) king Rajaraja alias Rajakesarivarman granted the revenue of the village ‘Anaimangalam’ for the maintenance of the shrine Chulamanivarma-vihara (Cudamani Vihara). [167.p.213-266] The friendly relation of Srivijaya with Cholas that was founded during the reign of Rajaraja Chola-I was continued by his son and successor Rajendra Chola-I. “After his accession to the Chola throne in 1014 CE, Rajendra confirmed his father’s donation to Srivijaya’s temple at Nagapattinam by a new inscription in 1015 CE. That same year and in 1018 CE, he received large gifts of ‘China gold’ (*Cina-kanakam*) from Srivijaya for a Hindu temple and its Brahmins in the Chola harbour.” [163.p.06]

This diplomatic manoeuvre helped Srivijaya to regain its naval supremacy and revenge Java with a devastating attack in 1016 CE. “Srivijaya and their allies defeated the Javanese and sacked the Mataram capital. This left the Srivijaya in control of both sea routes.” [164.p.133] With the command of two major naval choke points- Malacca and Sunda Strait- they monopolised the whole volume of maritime trade between western and eastern Asia and imposed exorbitant tolls on merchant ships. Vessels that passed through their waters were forced to call on their ports. Those which avoided were plundered. Such aggrandisement put the Tamil traders at loss and infuriated the imperial Cholas. “Rajendra Chola probably sent a small naval expedition to Sumatra in 1017 CE as a warning but it was not taken seriously.” [164.p.133] However, after meticulous planning and preparedness, Cholas came back with a much larger fleet in 1025 CE to inflict a crushing assault on the port cities and riches of Srivijaya. “In one of his inscriptions at the monumental temple at Tanjavur, King Rajendra Chola is praised for having dispatched in 1025 many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and captured King Sangramavijayottunga-varman of Srivijaya together with the elephants in his glorious army. They took a large heap of treasures including the Vidhyadara Torana, the jeweled ‘war gate’ of Srivijaya adorned with great splendour.”[163.p.01]

Historians opine that Kalinga and particularly the renewed relationship of Chola power with the ruling Somavamsi dynasty contributed greatly to the success of this expedition. “According to the Chola records, the conquest of Kalinga and the whole eastern coast up to the mouth of the Ganges was completed before the overseas expedition of 1025 CE. Prof. S. K. Aiyangar concludes from a study of all the relevant records that the actual starting-point of the overseas expedition was in the coast-region of Kalinga. Prof. Aiyangar infers from this fact that the conquest of Kalinga was undertaken by Rajendra Chola as it ‘was particularly necessary in view of the overseas expedition that must have become necessary for some reason or other.’ He holds further ‘that the Kalingas were possibly rivals in the overseas empire in connection with which the overseas expedition was actually undertaken.’” [29.p.179-180] The contemporary polity of Kalinga and Koshala (then parts of present Odisha) not only substantiates the view of Prof. Aiyangar but rather suggests that Somavamsi King Chandihara Yajati, who seized the throne of Koshala with the help of Rajendra Chola in 1023 CE, might have contributed significantly to the invasion of Srivijaya realm.

The Chola conquest of Srivijaya territory could not continue for long. One of the reasons for such reversal, as observed by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, is that ‘Kalinga freed itself from the yoke of the Cholas, and this crippled the naval resources of that power.’ [29.p.181] In second half of eleventh century CE, the imperial Ganga dynasty came to power in Kalinga (Odisha), replacing the Somavamsis. By second decade of twelfth century CE, they were an imperial power, extending their domain up to Ganges in north and the Godavari in south. Their primacy in maritime trade of East-Coast of India was revitalised.

“But as a result of Rajendra’s naval expedition, the Cholas became equated with South Indian foreigners in Javanese inscriptions. Until the rise of the “Imperial Cholas”, only Kling or “Kalingas” were mentioned in Javanese inscriptions as foreign visitors from the eastern coast of India. In 1021, when South India had already emerged as a maritime power, an inscription added *Drawidas* to this list and they were then replaced by the Cholikas in an inscription of the year 1053 CE. The trade of South Indian merchants continued to flourish also in the realm of Srivijaya. This is well documented by the

famous inscription of the Ayyavole guild of the year 1088 CE, discovered in Barus in West Sumatra.” [163.p.10]

It is pertinent to mention that Srivijaya’s prominence was felt in the seventh century CE, followed by Chola naval power in the tenth century CE and by that time, the process of Indianisation was almost complete. Many Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms were founded throughout Southeast Asia and Srivijaya is one such dominion.

Decline of Kalinga Influence

The hostile and aggressive policy pursued by Srivijaya from eighth to tenth century CE to establish its control over the international commercial routes and the consequential devastating invasion of Rajendra Chola in 1025 CE resulted in a serious setback to hitherto peaceful flow of Indian culture to Southeast Asia. The amiable relationship built-up by Kalinga over the first millennium of the Current Era, besides the extensive trade activity, had encouraged the acceptance of Indian religion, culture, alphabets, art and architecture by the island nations (*Dvipantara*). Kalinga played a very significant role in evolving an exceedingly fruitful bilateral mode of transfer and adoption of Indian traditions in South-East-Asia. In the age of her maritime greatness Kalinga carried the banner of Indian civilisation far and wide into the farther Asiatic lands and these pioneer colonists of India left their footprint on the sands of many a land. [134.p.121]

However, in spite of troubled water from the eighth century onwards due to presence of multinational forces Kalinga continued to maintain the commercial contact with that part of the world up to the fifteenth century.

It is generally agreed that local conversions in Southeast Asia began largely in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as indicated by the presence of early Islamic cemeteries in Sumatra and on the north Javanese coast. [145.p.28] Portuguese arrived in the Indian Ocean at the end of the fifteenth century and their intense activity gave a final death blow to the naval enterprise of Kalinga which was dying since long. [134.p.109]

“Towards the close of the fifteenth century Kalinga had run its course. She was now a spent bullet in her grandeur and greatness. Her naval supremacy in the Indian Ocean was fast dying out. The spirit of colonisation that inspired the early Kalingans had gone beyond the range of recall.” [134.p.108-9]

Maritime legacy Institutionalised

The Kalingan maritime sway of the bygone days has faded away, but the reminiscence is still echoed in its symbolic representations of miniature boats floated on the *Kartika-Purnima* day every year by the people of Odisha with a prayer for the welfare of the seafarers. [113.p.121] The month of ‘*Kartika*’ (October-November) is considered as an auspicious month for people in general and most of them resort to simple vegetarian diet to maintain sanctity. People gather near the sea-shores, river banks or the big ponds on the early morning of full-moon day and float innumerable miniature boats made out of plantain tree bark, or cork/paper with the fickle intention that their boats will reach the same far-away lands to which the ships (*Boitas*) of their ancestors sailed. While floating the boat they sing a song “Aa, Ka, Ma, Bai...” the initials of four months that are important for marine merchants of Kalinga. The whole process of worship is called ‘*Boita bandana*’ or ‘the sacred ritual of propitiating the deity of the ship’ for safe journey.

This is the specific time that was considered favourable by the Kalinga mariners to commence their voyage by taking advantage of the weather conditions and wind direction. Odisha coast is relatively free from cyclones during the month of November. The Northeast monsoon wind, from November-February, blowing from Northeast helped the ships to sail from Kalinga to Sri Lanka along the Andhra and Coromandel Coast. Thereafter, taking advantage of the Indian counter current, which flows along the Equatorial Belt of Calm, they could easily reach the Bali coast.

On this occasion, at Cuttack, the old capital of the state, a weeklong festival is organised in great earnest and pomp. Decorated boats are sailed in the water of famous river Mahanadi. Hundreds of merchants gather to sale their products in the open fair near the Barabati Fort. Every year millions of people come from all over the nation to experience it. Besides other articles of trade, the food stalls selling Odia delicacies attract the young and old. This festival is known as ‘*Bali Yatra*’ or ‘Voyage unto the island of Bali’; [134.p.124] to commemorate the day when ancient *Sadhabas* (Kalinga mariners) would set sail to distant islands of Southeast Asia, the *dvipantaras*, for trade and cultural expansion. This festival is also celebrated with great fanfare in other port cities of Odisha.

From the beginning of the month '*Kartika*', the well-to-do people in the rural areas, particularly in the coastal districts of Odisha, hoist a lamp to the top of a tall bamboo pole, so that it is visible from a distance. This is called '*Akashadipa*' or 'the sky-lamp', representing the beacon lights of the sea trade of Kalinga. Once they signalled the ships on the deep sea the location of the sea ports. Though at present it is only performed as a mere ritual and religious custom, its importance in the past for maritime activities cannot be overlooked. [28.p.92]

The other important festival, connected with the maritime tradition of the land, is called '*Khudurukuni*' or *Bhalukuni*' *Osha*, a religious penance observed by unmarried girls of the coastal districts of Odisha. In the month of Bhadraba (Aug-Sept.) the worship is made in the evening of Sundays each week. On such days, the young girls offer their prayers to Goddess '*Mangala*', singing the saga of an ancestral merchant (*Sadhaba*) family engaged in maritime trade. The only daughter of the family being harassed by her sisters-in-law, worshiped Goddess Mangala for safe return of her brothers from the overseas trade. In Odisha, Goddess '*Mangala*' is regarded as the presiding deity of the sea going vessels. The tradition continues even to-day.

The social and religious festivals as well as scientific date corroborate that the Kalinga merchants probably commenced their journey between November and February and returned between June and September. (61.p.106)

Over a period of time there have been changes in manners and customs of the people. But the adventurous ardour of Kalinga mariners is celebrated by the people of Odisha as a ritualistic festive '*Boita Bandana*' year after year.

CHAPTER 3

Funan – An Early *Dvipantara* Polity

The French Sinologist and Orientalist Paul Eugene Pelliot (May 1878 – October 1945) in his inventive publication “Le Fou-nan” of 1903, reported the history of an ancient Indianised state in the Mekong Delta of south coastal Vietnam and Cambodia. His report was based exclusively on Chinese historical manuscripts that he studied during his research in French School of the Far East (EFEQ). The Chinese sources called the polity as ‘Fu-nan’ or ‘Funan’. Though Pelliot suggested the founding of Funan in approximately the first century CE, archaeological research, especially excavation of sites related to ancient port city Oc Eo has shown that the Indian influence in the region may go back to as far as the fourth century BCE.

The name ‘Funan’ is a Chinese transcription of a so far unidentified word. It is not known what name the local people of Mekong valley or people of Indian origin gave to this Indianised kingdom. The epigraphic records or the Sanskrit inscriptions of Cambodia (Kambuja) and Vietnam (Champa) do not mention the name of kingdom Funan.

G. Coedes proposed that the name is the transcription of the old Khmer word *bnam*, the modern form of which is *phnom*, “mountain.” The kings of this country had as their title this term, meaning “king of the mountain” – in Sanskrit ‘*parvatabhupala*’ or ‘*sailaraja*’, in Khmer *kurungbnam*. [23.p.36] But this proposal has been variously criticised by a number of historians. The term “king of the mountain” does not seem particularly appropriate to this very flat valley of Mekong Delta.

Funan may be an originally Chinese word, or a transcription of a word which cannot be restored till date. The sinologist Paul Pelliot, who translated the Chinese annals, had already warned his readers that the Chinese account had often been re-copied and it contained various observations which ought not to be taken at face value. [31.p.15]

However, in absence of the actual name of this oldest Hindu/Buddhist kingdom of Southeast Asia, we have to continue to call it with the Chinese name “Funan”.

Chinese Mission to Funan

The historicity of Funan is primarily sourced from the report of two Chinese diplomats, Kang Tai [K'ang T'ai] and Zhu Ying, who sojourned in Funan in the mid-3rd century CE. The writings of these envoys, though no longer extant in their original condition, were excerpted and as such preserved in the later dynastic histories. Following Kang Tai's mission to Funan, subsequent Chinese histories record the years in which Funan tribute/trade missions arrived in China. [45.p.112]

During the Three Kingdoms period of China (220–280), the south China-based ‘Wu Kingdom’ finding it impossible to use the land route of the Silk Road network held by the rival Wei dynasty, sought to explore the sea route for its commercial relations with the West. This encouraged exchange of missions between southern China and the polity that controlled the ports of Mekong valley. In 240 CE, the Wu court dispatched envoys led by the court's appointed agent Kang Tai to Funan, which by that time occupied a privileged position on the route of maritime commerce with India and the West. Kang Tai and his compatriot Zhu Ying, on their return, reported regarding Funan an economically prosperous and powerful state having trade contact with India and western countries.

Kang Tai, the head of this mission, wrote a book about what he had seen or heard of more than a hundred kingdoms. On his account is based the information transmitted from historian to historian as regards the early history of Funan. It is from the date of this embassy (245-250 CE) that we get an approximate chronology of the early kings of Funan. Unfortunately this book of Kang Tai has disappeared. [108.p.19]

During this period, trade between India and China was intense, and one of the principal components of this trade was Buddhist religious objects. [46.p.34] Funan was an ideal half-way house on the sea journey to China from India. [150.p.33]

Kang Tai's account provides some details about a particular kingdom in India visited by the envoy of Fu-nan. The Chinese ambassadors met in Funan ‘Chen-song’, one of the envoys sent by the king of India. They asked him about the customs of India to which Chen-song replied:-

"That is a country where the law of Buddha prospers. The people there are straightforward and the land is very fertile. The title of the king is Meou-loun. The capital has a double enclosure of ramparts. Streams and sources of water supply are divided into a large number of winding canals which flow into the ditches under the walls (of the city) and thence into a great stream. The palaces and temples are adorned with sculptured and engraved decorations. [108.p.17]

French Indologist Professor Sylvain Levi, the Sanskrit teacher of Paul Pelliot, has proposed the identification of Meu-lun with the Murundas. According to him the word 'Meou-loun' phonetically corresponds closely to a race in ancient India the Murundas.

The Murundas in India

The Murunda dynasty is referred to in Indian historiography - the Puranas- along with other ruling families that reigned different local kingdoms before the advent of Gupta dynasty in the fourth century CE. The *Matsya*, *Vayu* and *Brahmanda* Purana describe these dynasties as under:

*Andbranamsamsthiterajyetesambhry-anvayanrpah,
Saptair Andbra bharisyanti, das Abhirastatharpanpah
SaptaGardabhinascapi, Sakastadasairavatu
Yavanastaubharysyanti, Tusarastucaturdasa
Trayodasa Murunda ca, Mauna hyekadasairavatu* (151.p.45)

The above Sanskrit stanza describes the weakening of Satavahana (Andhra) power that gave rise to the formation of a number of kingdoms ruled by different dynasties. The number of kings in each of these dynasties reigning before Guptas are seven Andhras, ten Abhiras, seven Gardabhins, eighteen Sakas, eight Yavanas, fourteen Tusaras (Kusanas), thirteen Murundas and eleven Mannas. These local dynasties are all clubbed together as more or less contemporaneous.

Some of these dynastic names are also mentioned in the 'Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta' (335-376 CE) of Gupta dynasty.



Fig 1: Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta

The line 23 and 24 of the inscription is reproduced below:

1. No. 1, LL. 23-24; दैवपुत्राहिषाहनुषाहि-शक मुरुण्डैः संहलकादिभिश्च सर्व-द्वीप-
वासिभिरात्मनिवेदन-कन्योपायन-दानगरुददक्षस्वरिषय-भुक्तिशासन-याचनाद्युपाय-
सेवाकृत्.....।

The above is translated as:

“Daivaputras along with Sahis, Sahanusahis, Sakas, and Murundas, and the people of Simhala (Sri Lanka) and all (other) islands (Indianised states of Southeast Asia) are said to have acknowledged the suzerainty of Samudragupta by rendering to him all kinds of service (*seva*) such as personally coming to the emperor (*atmanivedana*) with gifts of maidens (*Kanyopayana*), presents (*dana*) and application (*yacana*) for charters bearing the Imperial Gupta Garuda seal (*Garutmadanka*) by which they would not be disturbed in the enjoyment (*bbhukti*) and administration (*sasana*) of their respective territories (*svarisaya*).” [37.p.318]

The Inscription tells us that the Murundas along with the contemporary dynasties had accepted the vassalage of the Guptas, but were ruling their respective kingdoms independently.

Murundas an Indo-Scythian offshoot

The Puranas listed the Murundas along with Sakas, Yavanas and Kushanas under “*Mleccha-jatayah*”, indicating that these dynasties were of foreign origin.

Fall of Mauryan Empire in the second century BCE encouraged migration of different tribes from Central Asia to North-western India. Indo-Scythians, a group of nomadic Iranian peoples of Scythian origin, originally inhabiting the present day Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, being pressurised by another tribe,

Yuezhi moved towards the South into Afghanistan, Pakistan and North-Western India in about 160 BCE. Their attraction for India lay not just in the fertility of the land, but also in the profits of trade from the items it produced. Initially they established a territory in the lower valley of Indus that spread over parts of Afghanistan, Pakistan, and North-West India including Kabul, Taxila and Mathura. This group was otherwise referred to as Northern-Satrap.

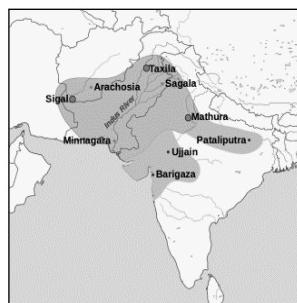


Fig 2. Indo-Scythian kingdom around River Indus [Source: Internet]

The Northern Satraps dominion was frequently infringed upon by Indo-Parthians and later by Kusanas, one of the Yuezhi tribe, who were expanding into India from the North-West. By 75 CE, Kusanas occupied much of Afghanistan, today's Peshawar and Pakistan and by end of the first century, they encompassed the area of Mathura. Kusana dominions expanded into the heartland of northern India in the early second century CE.

In the west, another group of Indo-Scythians carved out a territory around Gulf of Khambhat, comprising Gujarat, Maharashtra and parts of Madhya Pradesh. This ruling dynasty was titled as Western Satraps or the Western Kshatrapa.

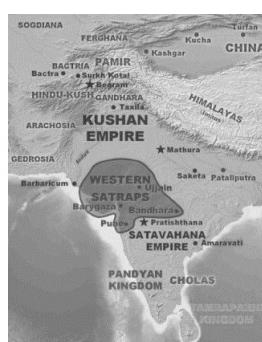


Fig 3. Indo-Scythian kingdom around River Narmada [Source: Internet]

This dynasty ruled for a longer period of about 350 years. But from the later part of the first century CE, they faced threats from Kusanas of the north and in the second century from Satavahanas of the south. Several battles were fought between the Satavahana dynasty and the Western Satraps. Gautamiputra Satakarni, the illustrious ruler of Satavahana dynasty, defeated the Western Satraps and conquered some parts of Gujarat in the second century CE. From that period, the power of the Saka rulers in Narmada basin started to decline and their kingdom was ultimately destroyed by Chandragupta-II of Gupta Empire in the fourth century CE.

The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* reports that both these Indo-Scythian establishments of the west coast virtually controlled much of the Arabian and Roman trade with India. They named their capitals as Minnagara. The word is composed of ‘Min’, the Indian name for the Scythians, and ‘nagar’, a city.

The Murunda Dynasty of Kalinga

After establishing two kingdoms on the west, Indo-Scythians had ventured to carve out a territory in the Gangetic valley of the east coast to expand their trade with Southeast Asia. Yuga Purana, in the following verses refers to an invasion by the Sakas sometimes during the first century BCE, which was foiled by the Kalinga king Mahameghavahana Kharabela.

शकार्ना च ततो राजा हर्षतुब्धो महाबलः ।
 दुष्टभावश्च पापश्च विनाशे समुपस्थिते ॥ ६२ ॥

 कलिंगशतराजार्थं विनाशं वै गमिष्यति ।
 कोवेङ्कुंडैः शबलैर्विलुंपतो गमिष्यति ॥ ६३ ॥

The stanzas mention that a mighty Saka king, in his greed for wealth, came on a plundering raid and destroyed large number of men. During the course of his plundering, he was killed by the Kalinga king Sata and by a certain group of Kovedukanda Sabalas. Thereafter the Sakas returned to their own city. [99.p.58] Kalinga king Sata or Sada refers to Emperor Kharabela of Mahameghavahana family. Dr. D. B. Mishra, 2005, reports that there is a mention of “Mahameghavahana-Kalinga-Mahisakadhipati-Sri-Sada” in an

inscription in Brahmi script and Prakrit language at Guntupalli in West Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh belonging to the first century BCE. [170.p.44]

However, the vacuum created by fall of Mahameghavahana dynasty provided opportunity to Indo-Scythians to penetrate and establish their rule in Kalinga. This group was designated as Murunda which seems originally to have been an Indo-Scythian word meaning lord or master; the Sanskrit equivalent of ‘Swami’. Dr. N. K. Sahu et al, 2010, opine that ‘Satavahana power (also known as Andhras) revived in the second century CE under Gautamiputra Satakarni who occupied Kalinga as well as Kosala in around 124 CE. Gautamiputra was succeeded by his son Vasishthiputra Pulumavi in 130 CE and made further attempt to extend the empire. The death of Vasishthiputra in 154 CE led to great confusion in the empire. Taking advantage of the weak successors of Pulumavi, a foreign tribe called Murunda took possession of Kalinga region.’ [02.p.57]

He further writes that ‘the coastal plain of Odisha (then named as Kalinga) was under the suzerainty of the Murundas during the second and the third centuries CE. The gold coin recovered from Sisupalgarh excavation belongs to a king whose name as known from the coin is Maharaja Rajadhiraj Dharmadamadhara. As pointed out by Dr. A. S. Altekar, this king “belonged to the Murunda family, which may have ruled over a portion of Bihar and Odisha.” That the Murunda monarchs introduced gold currency in Odisha is indicative of their strong and prosperous rule. Maharaja Ganabhadra of the Bhadrak stone inscription datable in the second half of the 3rd century CE was very likely a Murunda Chief. The Puranas preserve the account of a king named Guha who was ruling over Kalinga, Mahisha, and Mahendra region about the time when the Guptas were enjoying the territory comprising Prayaga, Saketa and Magadha along the Ganges. King Guha may be assigned to the period when the Guptas rose to power in the middle Gangetic valley under Chandragupta I. Guha of the Puranic tradition is generally identified with Guhasiva, the king of Kalinga, mentioned in the *Datharamsa*, one of the Sri Lankan chronicles. This work represents Guhasiva as contemporary of the Sri Lankan king Mahasena, the father of king Sirimeghavarna who was ruling over Sri Lanka at the time Samudragupta was ruling over northern India. So Guhasiva may be assigned to the time of Chandragupta I and as such, may be identified with the Puranic Guha.’ [02.p.58-59]

Like other Indo-Scythian groups, Murundas in Kalinga also named their capital as Minnagara. Ptolemy in the second century CE reports a town 'Minnagara' in the Gangetic Gulf, which has been identified by Yule with the present town of Jajpur, one of the ancient capitals of Odisha. [161.p.72] According to Schoff, 1912, Minnagara was a name given temporarily to several cities of India during the period of the occupation by the Scyths. After the collapse of the Indo-Scythian power these cities resumed their former names with their autonomy. [171.p.165]

The following verse of *Vayu* and *Brahmanda* Purana inform that thirteen Murundas of non-Hindu origin ruled for a period of two hundred years (half of 400 years).

*Satanyardha-caturthani bhavita rastrayodas
Murunda Vrsalaib sardham bhavyanya Mleccha-jatayah.* [151.p.47]

It is also learnt from the *Dathavamsa* that the Tooth relic of Buddha that was worshipped by Guhasiva, tempted the neighbouring rulers to invade Kalinga for taking possession of the sacred relic. Thus a neighbouring ruler defeated and killed Guhasiva in battle, but the Tooth was smuggled away to Sri Lanka by Hemamala and Dantakumara the daughter and son-in-law of Guhasiva. The death of Guhasiva appears be the end of Murunda rule in Kalinga. [02.p.59]

Some scholars have presumed that Murundas ruled in the Gangetic plain with capital located at Pataliputra. Indian historiography does not support this view. So far not a single inscription or numismatic evidence of Murunda kings has been discovered from any place in the Gangetic plain. The Guptas ruling from Pataliputra have recorded in their inscription that Murundas ruling a different kingdom had acknowledged their suzerainty. It is, therefore, absolutely improbable that they could have ruled from anywhere in the Gangetic basin near about Pataliputra.

Others consider them as identical with the Sakas or as a branch of Kusana dynasty. But the Allahabad Pillar inscription treats the Sakas, Murundas and Kusanas as separate dynasties ruling different territories. 'The word 'Daivaputra' of the inscription denotes those 'who belong to devaputra', i.e., Kaniska, i.e. the rulers of Kusana dynasty.' [37.p.129] As the term Daivaputra in the inscription has been used to refer to the Kusana kings, and Sakas are mentioned separately, we cannot equate Murundas with the Kusanas. [37.p.153]

Besides, ‘the Puranas assigned a total rule of 200 years to Murunda dynasty which even the great Kushanas did not enjoy.’ [147.p.73]

Funan-Murunda Relationship

According to the *History of the Southern Ch'i*, during the period between 225 and 250 CE, Fan Shih-man, a brave and capable general was chosen by the people of Funan as the King. With his powerful troops, he subjugated all the neighbouring kingdoms and himself took the title Great King of Funan. With his superior naval force, he attacked more than ten kingdoms, extending his territory over five or six thousand li. On the death of Fan Shih-man one of his nephews namely Fan Chan seized the power. As reported by Paul Pelliot, during the reign of Fan Chan, roughly around 240 CE, Funan entered into official and direct relations with the Murundas of India. Being informed from a source regarding marvels of India, Fan Chan sent one of his relatives named Su-wu on an embassy to India. This embassy arrived at the capital of Murunda kingdom. The king took the foreigners on a tour of his country and presented with four horses of the Indo-Scythian breed for the king of Funan. Murunda king also deputed an envoy named Ch'en-sung as a companion to Funan. During the reign of the successor of Fan Chan, the Chinese mission of K'ang T'ai and Chu Ying, visited Fuana and met this Murunda envoy in around 245-250 CE. [23.p.38-42]

According to the dynastic histories of the Chin and the Liang, one ‘T'ien Chu Chan-t'an’ was ruling over Funan in 357 CE, who offered tamed elephants as tributes. ‘T'ien Chu’ is the Chinese name for India, hence ‘T'ien Chu Chan-tan’ means ‘the Indian Chan-tan’. Sylvain Levi indicated that ‘Chan-t'an’ is a Chinese transcription of ‘Chandan’, a royal title used by Indo-Scythians. It seems that a royal personage with title ‘Chandan’ went from India to occupy the throne of that country. As the Indo-Scythian Murundas were in long association with the royal house of Funan, it is expected that Chandan was from Murunda family. This is the period when the great emperor Samudragupta of Gupta dynasty extended his empire over most parts of India. The Murundas of Kalinga had also accepted the vassalage of Samudragupta. This situation might have forced a Murunda prince to migrate and try his luck in friendly country Funan.

It is interesting to note that the title “Chandan” continues with a modified form in some parts of Odisha (The ancient Kalinga) till date. Particularly in the coastal districts of Puri, Cuttack and Balasore, there are people in the Kshatriya clan, with surnames like ‘Sri Chandan’ and ‘HariChandan’, etc. which seem to have originated from the family-name ‘Chandan’. In other words, this evidence confirms that the family name ‘Chandan’ belonged to Indo-Scythian Murundas who ruled in the coastal areas of Kalinga in remote past.

Some scholars have related Kusanas with Indo-Scythian Murundas. As stated before, Kusanas belonged to the ‘Yuezhi’ tribe and were in frequent conflict with Indo-Scythians. They have never reigned over the coastal tract of Gangetic delta. There is no evidence to suggest that Kusanas had ever established any contact with Funan.

The Kaundinya Dynasty

Chandan’s reign continued probably up to the end of the fourth century CE. By the beginning of the fifth century, another Indian namely Kaundinya occupied the throne of Funan. The History of the Liang Dynasty has preserved the following story about him:

“Kaundinya was a Brahman and an inhabitant of India. One day he heard a supernatural voice asking him to go and reign in Funan. He reached P’an-p’an to the south of Funan. The people of Funan cordially welcomed him and elected him king. He introduced Indian laws, manners and customs.” [79.p.31] He married the daughter of the king of the Nagas, namely Soma, who gave birth to a royal line. [23.p.37]

Kaundinya in Epigraphic records

Some of the inscriptions of Champa (Vietnam) and Kambuja (Cambodia) mention regarding the Kaundinya dynasty that not only ruled Funan but its descendants also spread over the Champa and Kambuja.

Prasat Pram Loven Inscription of Gunavarman

The Prasat Pram Loven inscription of Thap Muoi informs that king Gunavarman of Funan belonged to Kaundinya lineage. The inscription, now on display in ‘Museum of History’, Ho Chi Minh City; is written in Sanskrit, containing 12 verses.



Fig 4. Courtesy 'Museum of History', Ho Chi Minh City

The first part of the text up to the sixth verse is damaged and their considerable numbers of letters are missing. Verse seven records that the king was born in the Kaundinya family.

**यः श्रीमताविजय^१ विक्रमिविक्रमेण
कौण्डिन्यवंशशशिना वसुधाधिपेन ।**

Verse seven of the Inscription [32.p.03]

The inscription records the consecration of a footprint of lord Visnu, called Cakratirthasvamin, by king Gunavarman. The characters of this inscription appear to belong to the fifth century CE and can be attributed confidently to the kingdom of Funan. [32.p.2-3]

My-son Stelae Inscription of Prakasadharma, dated 579 Saka

The next important record that describes Kaundinya dynasty is the Sanskrit inscription of the Cham king Prakasadharma found at My Son. It was issued from the prosperous city ‘Champapura’ on Sunday, 18 February 658 CE and hence belongs to the post-Funanese period. The inscription records the donations made by king Prakasadharma-Vikranta Varman to the Gods Isanesvara, Sambhu-Bhadresvara and Prabhasesvara. It gives the genealogy of the kings of Champa that begins with Gangaraja. [47.p.16-21].

Maharaja Sri Prakasadharma, who took the name of Sri Vikrantavarma at the time of coronation, is the son of Sri Jagaddharma of Champapura and Sri Sarvani, the princess of Bhavapura of Kambuja. As detailed in verses XV to XXIII of this inscription, Sri-Jagaddharma, a mighty prince of Champapura, went to the city called Bhavapura of Kambuja on account of certain circumstances. It was there that Kaundinya, the foremost among Brahmanas, planted the spear which he had obtained from Drona's son Asvatthama.

Prior to the arrival of Kaundinya at Bhavapura, there lived a daughter of the king of serpents, namely, Soma. She was taken as wife by the Brahmana Kaundinya for the sake of accomplishing certain work. Kaundinya and Soma founded a dynasty that ruled the country. King Bhavarman, the pride of his subjects for his unblemished conduct, was born in that pure unbroken royal family. His brother Sri Mahendravarman, equal in prowess to Indra, was a hero in the world who smashed the proud allies of enemies. Sri Isanavarman, son of Sri Mahendravarman, had a daughter namely Sri Sarvani. She was given in marriage to Sri Jagaddharma, who came from Champapura and their son Maharaja Sri Prakasadharma returned to Champa and occupied the throne. [47.p.23-24]

Baksei Chamkrong inscription of Rajendra-Varman, Dated 869 Saka

Baksei Chamkron is the name of a temple on Mount Bakheng, a little to the south of Angkor Thom. The inscription is written in Sanskrit and contains 48 verses. The first twelve verses are invocations addressed to Siva, Visnu, Brahma, Devi, Vagisvari, and lastly to Kambu Svayambhuva and his wife Mera, the mythical couple from whom the Kambujas are said to have descended. Then follows the genealogy of king Rajendravarman-II, beginning with Sruta-vaman. Verse 16, reproduced below, relates Rudravarman, one of the kings of Kambuja, to Kaundinya Dynasty. [32.p.185-188]

श्रीरुद्रवर्मनृपतिप्रसुखास्ततश् श्री-
 कौण्डण्यसोमदुहितप्रभवाः क्षितीन्द्राः ।
 जाता जगन्त्रयविकीर्णयशःप्रकाश
 दक्षाः प्रजाविरचने श्रुतशालिनो ये ॥ १६

Verse sixteen of the Inscription [32.p.188]

Soma, the Princess of Naga Dynasty

The My Son stelae inscription of Prakasadharma and also the Chinese sources allude ‘Soma’ as the daughter of the king of serpents. Some scholars have interpreted it to be a mythical creature, the upper part of whose body is that of a pretty woman but the lower part that of a serpent. In Sanskrit they name it as ‘*Naga Kanya*’. Many temples in India have bas-reliefs of such figures indicating its popularity as a mythical character and temple sculpture.



Fig 5. *Naga Kanyas* in Bhadresvara temple, Pandia, 754208

Scythians consider this mythical character as their progenitor. Herodotus, the ancient Greek writer and historian of the fifth century BCE, had given an account of the Scythians and his account remains the basis for present-day knowledge of the Scythian people. According to him, a person named Heracles met in Scythia a strange being, between a maiden and a serpent, whose form from the buttocks upwards was like that of a woman, while the rest below was like a snake. She bore three sons to Heracles; one she named Agathyrsus, one Gelonus, and the other, who was the youngest, Scythes. Before his departure, Heracles left instructions that whichever of these three could bend the bow left by him, should be made the king of the country. In obedience to the orders of Heracles, she put the sons, when they grew up, to test with the instructions she had received from him. Two of them, Agathyrsus and Gelonus, proving unequal to the task enjoined, were sent out of the land; Scythes, the youngest, succeeded, and so he was allowed to remain. From Scythes, the son of Heracles, descended the successive kings of Scythia; and from the circumstance of wearing the goblet

which hung from the belt, the Scythians to this day wear goblets at their girdles. [48.p.129-131]

However, such skeptical stories cannot be taken too literally, but as symbolic references. Early societies did not compose oral or the earliest written history as “fact” in our modern sense, but as mythical references that were attuned to their audience. [24.p.49] The probable historical account is that Kaundinya, to establish his reign in a matrilineal society, married the daughter of a local chief belonging to Naga dynasty.

Naga is the title of a ruling dynasty of India. They were a powerful and widespread people who appear to had been ruling different parts of India from the very early times. ‘When the Guptas were bidding for an imperial career in the middle Gangetic valley the Naga confederacy was aiming at building an empire in northern India. Samudra Gupta succeeded in defeating the Naga rulers in his *Aryavartha* wars as a result of which the Guptas acquired suzerainty over northern India in place of the Nagas.’ [02.p. 60]

Naga Dynasty in Kalinga

Around the third century CE, the Naga dynasty was ruling in parts of Kalinga having their capital somewhere in present Keonjhar district. They established a kingdom named Vindhavati in the northeast portion of the then Kalinga and extended their suzerainty over the Singhbhum and Ranchi districts of Jharkhand and Medinipur, Bankura and Purulia (Manbhum) districts of West Bengal. They patronised Vedic religion and donated lavishly to scholarly Brahmins. They built many temples and monasteries in eastern India. One of their inscriptions has been discovered in Asanpat village of Keonjar district of Odisha in 1957 CE. This inscription reveals that the king named Manabhanja of the Naga dynasty crushed the Devaputras in hundreds of battles. Maharaja Satrubhanja, the son of king Manabhanja and queen Damayanti, was a valiant ruler. He was not only adept in weaponry but also proficient in philosophy, history, grammar, laws, science, and Vedic scriptures. He donated lakhs of cattle in Pataliputra, Gaya, Krimila, Dadavardhana, Vardhamana, Pundravardhana, Shrihatta, Gorhati, Khadranga, Tamralipti, as well as in Ubhaya Toshali. He made gifts of lakhs of Hiranya or gold coins and made grants at various Mathas. He built houses and monasteries for monks who belonged to different religious communities. Such generous donations have not been reported in any of the epigraphic records of ancient India. It

seems that on conquest over Kusana, the Naga dynasty rulers acquired vast resources, which they donated to monks of various pantheon and learned Brahmans. [98.p.187-190]



Fig 6. Asanpat Inscription of Maharaja Satrubhanja
Courtesy Odisha State Museum, Bhubaneswar

Asanpat inscription has been dated to the fourth century CE. The Nataraja image in it indicates that Maharaja Satrubhanja patronised Saivism. The inscription further states that king Satrubhanja constructed a temple for lord Siva. 'From this evidence it appears that by the end of the third century CE or the early part of the fourth, in spite of wide spread practice of Buddhism, Saivism had already captured the minds of people, at least in a few regions of Kalinga.' [28.p.586]

The military achievements of king Satrubhanja as recorded in this inscription of fourth century CE and the accounts of Sri Lankan chronicle *Dathadhatumamsa* regarding transfer of tooth relic by Kalinga king Guhasiva during the same period, point out that the Murunda power in Kalinga was defeated at the hands of the Nagas. Later the Naga rulers of Kalinga were defeated by the imperial Guptas. It seems, simultaneous change of power took place in *Dvipantara*. In Funan Chandan of Murunda origin was succeeded by Naga family who later submitted to Brahman Kaundinya. Princess Soma, daughter of the Naga king married Kaundinya to establish a new royal family.

Kaundinya Changed the Law

While describing the takeover of Funan by Kaundinya, Chinese sources report that he changed all the rules and laws in conformity to Indian system. It implies that his predecessor Chandan being an Indo-Scythian was following a different religious tradition. As discussed earlier, Indo-Scythian Murundas and Sakas were of non-Hindu origin. Murundas of Kalinga were patronising Buddhism, which would have been in practice in Funan during Chandan's reign. Brahman Kaundinya revitalised Hinduism in place of Buddhism. This view is also echoed in the travel record of Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, I-Tsing (Yijing or I-Ching) in later part of the seventh century CE. I-Tsing, who took a sea route to India, wrote that 'formerly in Funan people were mostly worshippers of heaven (the gods or devas), and later on, Buddhism flourished there. But a wicked king has now expelled and exterminated them all, and there are no members of the Buddhist Brotherhood at all, while adherents of other religions (or heretics) live intermingled. [136.p.12]

The 'Ta Prohm inscription' of Rudravarman provides a different picture. King Jayavarman and his son Rudravarman, both of Kaundinya lineage, were rulers of Funan in the last quarter of the fifth and the first half of the sixth century CE. The inscription issued by Rudravarman begins with an invocation to Buddha. It also refers to Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. But Rudravarman's father Jayavarman had appointed a Brahmana as Treasurer. [32.p.04] As discussed earlier, the fifth century Funan king Gunavarman of Kaundinya lineage was a worshipper of Lord Vishnu. [32.p.2-3] These epigraphic records indicate coexistence of both the faiths in post Kaundinya period. Rudravarman was the last king of Funan.

'Oc Eo', the Port City of Funan

The archaeological discoveries made in and around Oc Eo of Mekong delta, in southern An Giang Province of Vietnam, bear testimony to the existence of an Indianised polity that was named Funan by the Chinese sources. In the early years of the current era, the Indian seafarers along with the local inhabitants established this kingdom that developed into a major culture in Southeast Asia. It was perhaps then the most convenient site for the Indians of the East Coast to expand their trade network in Southeast Asia and farther. The city probably provided warehousing for goods in transit between India and China and was an outlet for products collected from the

forested interior of Cambodia and Vietnam. [46.p.26] Scholars have preferred to call it as ‘Oc Eo Culture’ that had close commercial links with India, Northeast Asia, Southeast Asia, South Asia, West Asia and the Mediterranean.

The discovery of ‘Oc Eo Culture’ is accredited to the French scholar Louis Malleret (1901-1970), who devoted considerable efforts and made path-breaking contributions to the study of this culture. In 1942, Louis Malleret conducted an initial survey on Oc Eo lands in the villages of Thoai Son District of An Giang province. There, he met hundreds of people washing gold bearing gravels for extraction of gold. While conducting a brief survey over the whole area, he noticed numerous high mounds (called “Giong” in Vietnamese) which turned out to hold ancient architectural works. The archaeological team supervised by Louis Malleret made series of excavations in 1944. [104.p.272] World War II prevented him from carrying out further digs. Later archaeological investigations were carried out by a Franco-Vietnamese team between 1998 and 2002. These excavations provided a great deal of additional information on the Oc Eo site. Carbon 14 dating shows that Oc Eo was active at least as early as the first and as late as the tenth centuries CE. [31.p.52]

The Oc Eo archaeological site produced a wealth of evidence for international maritime trade in semiprecious stone beads, high-tin bronze artefacts, Rouletted Ware, and glass beads. [50.p.03]



**Glass Beads, Precious and
Semi-Precious Stone Jewellery**

Fig 7. Courtesy ‘Museum of History’, Ho Chi Minh City

The finds also included an abundance of Indian and western Indian Ocean artefacts, Indian ceramics, jewels, gold rings, merchant seals, and Indian ceramics and tin amulets with symbols of Visnu and Siva.

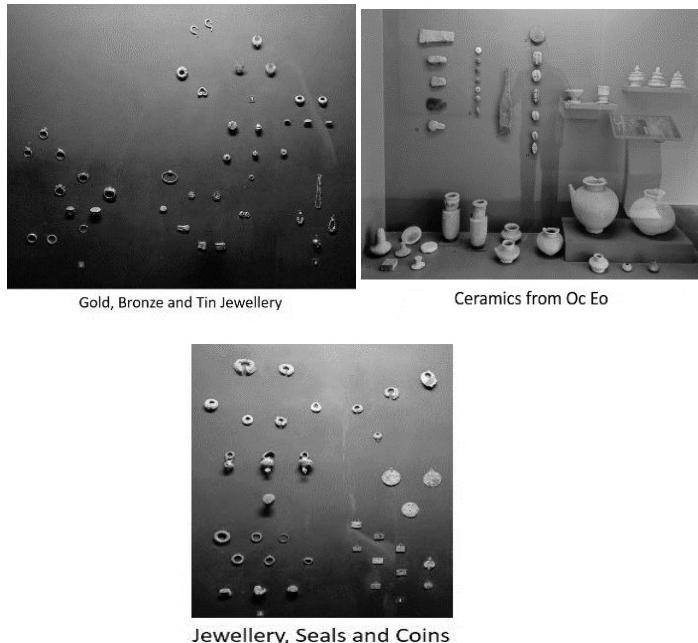


Fig 8. Courtesy ‘Museum of History’, Ho Chi Minh City

Various high quality images in stone or bronze representing the Hindu Gods, such as Siva, Vishnu and Surya as well as the Buddhist deities, discovered in the region, attest to the importance of Indian religions in Oc Eo Culture from early stages of its development.



Fig 9. Courtesy ‘Museum of History’, Ho Chi Minh City



Siva Lingas from Oc Eo

Fig 10. Courtesy ‘Museum of History’, Ho Chi Minh City

On the basis of excavation findings and case studies conducted on the Oc Eo area, Dang Van Thang and Vo Van Sen, 2017, in their work “*Recognition of Oc Eo Culture Relic in ThoaiSon District an Giang Province, Vienam*” published in ‘*American Scientific Research Journal for Engineering, Technology, and Sciences*’ (ASRJETS) Volume 36, No 1, pp. 271-293’ report that the Oc Eo culture could date back from the 2nd BC to the 12th century CE. They divided the period into three stages: the Early Oc Eo (the 2nd century BC – the 2nd century CE); the Developing Oc Eo (the 3rd century – the 6th century CE); and Late Oc Eo (the 7th century – the 12th century CE). Their case study revealed that the mounds hitherto supposed to be as cremation grounds were actually Hindu temples. The research confirmed that Oc Eo culture, the cultural foundation of Funan, was strongly influenced by traditional Indian culture. [104.p.275]

Sun Worship in Oc Eo Culture

While investigating into the relics and their artefacts of Oc Eo area, Dang Van Thang and Vo Van Sen, 2017, found the evidence of a number of Surya (Sun God) temples, besides the Siva temples, Vishnu temples and other Hindu temples. According to them ‘the relic of one of the Surya temples is comparable with the Sun God’s 8-spoke wheel of the cart pulled by seven horses as represented in the sun temple of Konark, Odisha.’ [104.p.275-290] Coedes, 1968, also reports the image of *Surya* (Sun God) in Funan and relates those

to Maga or Scythian Brahmans, who are designated by the name Saka-brahmana in Angkorian epigraphy. [23.p.47] It seems that worship of the Sun-god, a Scythian tradition, was prevalent in Funan/ Oc Eo culture.

The Magas or Iranic Scythic Brahmanas worshipped Mitra, the Sun God. It is admitted by scholars that they were the first to introduce the worship of the image of the Sun into India. In addition to Sun-worship, they cultivated the study of Astrology and Medicine. [100.p.ii-iv] Louis Malleret has emphasised the Scythian connection with Funan. Exchange of embassies with Murundas, a Scythian tribe, has been reported in Chines accounts. The cylindrical coif on the head of the Vishnu image of Oc Eo (figure below) can be regarded as Iranic Scythian influence.

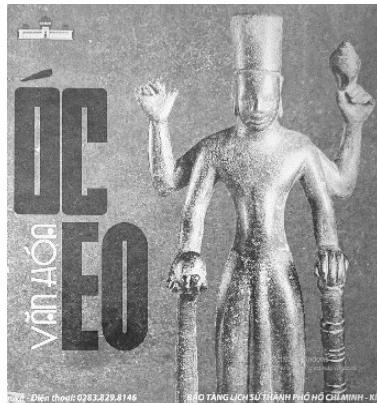


Fig 11. Image of Vishnu

Courtesy ‘Museum of History’, Ho Chi Minh City

It is obvious that the Maga or Scythian Brahmans had established the practice of Sun-worship in Oc Eo culture.

Maga Brahmans have been reported to inhabit in different parts of India. In later period they were called as ‘Angirasa’ Brahman. Bhavisya Purana informs that the Angirasas are no other than the Magas themselves. They have been reported to reside in various parts of Mayurbhanja and Balasore district and in the Konark area of Puri district. These Angirasa Brahmanas are the priests of the temple of Konark dedicated to the Sun God. [100.p.x-xii]

Being the devotee of Sun God or Mitra, they were also recognised as belonging to Maitrayaniya School. Two copperplate inscriptions of late sixth and early seventh century CE, recovered

from Kanasa and Olasingi of Puri district report Maitrayaniya Brahmans inhabiting in coastal districts of Odisha. These plates: A) Plate of Lokavigraha-bhattaraka and B) Plate of Bhanudatta; transcribed by D. C. Sircar were published in *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XXVIII, Part VI, 1950. According to Sircar, the grantees were Brahmana students of the Maitrayaniya School who are the worshiper of the Sun god. [54.p.329-330] ‘KapilaSamhita’ mentions that during ancient period, the surroundings of Konark and river Prachi were known as “Maitreya Vana”. That locality was inhabited by many Maitrayaniya Brahmins. Most probably during the second century CE, when Kalinga was ruled by Indo-Scythian Murundas, these Sun worshipping Brahmins had migrated to India and permanently settled in the east coast. [98.p.188-189]

Reported relationship of Funan with the Murunda royal family provides strong evidence that Maga Brahmins from Kalinga migrated to Funan and established the ritual of Sun-worship.

Decline of Funan

Major changes in maritime trade networks of Southeast Asia, from the mid-fourth century CE, stimulated the decline of entrepreneurial activities in Oc Eo and resultant political instability of Funan. The trade route from East-coast of India, through the Isthmus of Kra and Gulf of Thailand to Oc Eo, was sidestepped in preference to direct sailing to Indonesian islands. The second century writings of Roman geographer Ptolemy, informs an important trade route between east coast of India and South-east Asia. His identification of Paloura on Kalinga coast, as the usual point of departure for the Golden Peninsula substantiates that the ships from Paloura used to make direct voyage across the high seas up to Malay Peninsula. From there the vessels could pass through Malacca Strait to the different islands of the East Indies and the coast of Indo-Chinese Peninsula. [22.p.04] The other alternative preferred was the coastal voyage to Sri Lanka and then to Java Sea through Sunda Strait.

Direct sea passage from the Java Sea region to China has been reported from early fifth century CE. Travelogue of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Faxian or Fa-hien (337 CE – c. 422 CE) provides first-hand evidence of merchant vessels plying between Java to China. On his return journey from India in about 412 CE, Faxian embarked in a large merchant-vessel at Tamralipti (Tamluk of West Bengal) and reached Sri Lanka after fourteen days. He stayed in Sri

Lanka for two years, visited monasteries and procured copies of canonical scriptures on Theravada Buddhism. From Sri Lanka he sailed to Java where he stayed for about five months. According to him there was not much of Buddhism in Java but various forms of Brahmanism were flourishing. Faxian embarked in another large merchant ship bound for southern China from Java. [173.p.100-113]

The story of Buddhist monk Gunavarman, as described in '*Kao sengtchouan*' or '*Biography of famous monks*', compiled in 519 CE, reports that he too took the same route from India to Sri Lanka and then to Java and China. From Java, Gunavarman embarked on a vessel, owned by the Hindu merchant Nandin, and reached Nankin in 431 CE. [29.p.104] The merchant vessel made a stopover in Champa port while sailing from Java coast to China. [24.p.73]

Both these accounts of Faxian and Gunavarman provide authentic information that Java was already indianised with Hindu culture prior to the fifth century CE. The Indianised kingdom Holing, the Kalinga in Java, had already emerged as a political entity and sent envoys to China. [24.p.106]

By 449 CE, Funan's ports had been replaced by Java Sea emporia as the dominant ports in Southeast Asian commerce. Being cut out of the India-China trade route, port Oc Eo fell in to disuse which resulted in the crumbling resources of Funan. The commerce of Oc Eo was taken over by the Indianised kingdom of Champa. [24.p.60-62] By the seventh century CE the domain of Funan lost its identity and merged with kingdoms of Champa (Vietnam) and Kambuja (Cambodia).

CHAPTER 4

Mahanadi, the Maritime Gate-way of Champa in Vietnam

With decline of Funan another Indianised kingdom named Champa rose into prominence. This Kingdom was established in central Vietnam adjacent to the coast of South China Sea. Later it expanded to the South Vietnam. Early Champa evolved as a seafaring state. With its long coastline and because of its location in the middle of the safest maritime route connecting China with Southern Sea countries, Champa rapidly engaged with the regional maritime trade networks and took full advantage of the new circumstance to expand its influences over other polities in the region. By the end of the fifth century CE Funan dominated trade route was replaced. A new trade route was developed through the South China Sea controlled by Champa. The kingdom of Champa also emerged as one of the most important centers for Arab traders who, by the time, controlled and operated the maritime trade networks in Asia.

The people of Champa maintained a system of lucrative trade networks across the region, connecting the Indian Ocean and Eastern Asia that continued till the 17th century. Southeast Asian produce from Indonesia passed through Champa coast to China. The coastal centers in the Champa domain that extended from the central Vietnam coastline southward to the Mekong River delta became more prominent intermediary ports of call on the way to China. [24.p.33]

The commerce of port ‘Oc Eo’ in Mekong delta was taken over by the port of Champa on the estuary of river Thu Bon. This river of central Vietnam, originating near the border of Quang Nam flows northwest then turning northeast, empties into the South China Sea at port city Hoi An, which translates as “peaceful meeting place” from Sino-Vietnamese. During the Champa period it was named as “Lam Ap Pho”. Later in English and other European languages, the town was named as Faifo or Faifoo.

From Champa period Hoi An flourished as a major trading port and became the most important trading centre on the South China sea. The city also rose to prominence as a powerful and exclusive trade conduit between Europe, China, India, and Japan, especially for the ceramic industry. Shipwreck discoveries have shown that Vietnamese and other Asian ceramics were transported from Hoi An to as far as the Sinai in Egypt.

A poster displayed in the My Son Museum, relating to Cham culture, religion and holy places in and around the locality specifically describes the Thu Bon River as a sacred river and the source of life. The poster mentions that river Thu Bon was called '**Mahanadi**' in Cham inscriptions. It is as sacred as Goddess Ganga, and people in the area worship the goddess at a temple by the side of the River. The image of the poster relating Thu Bon River is given below.

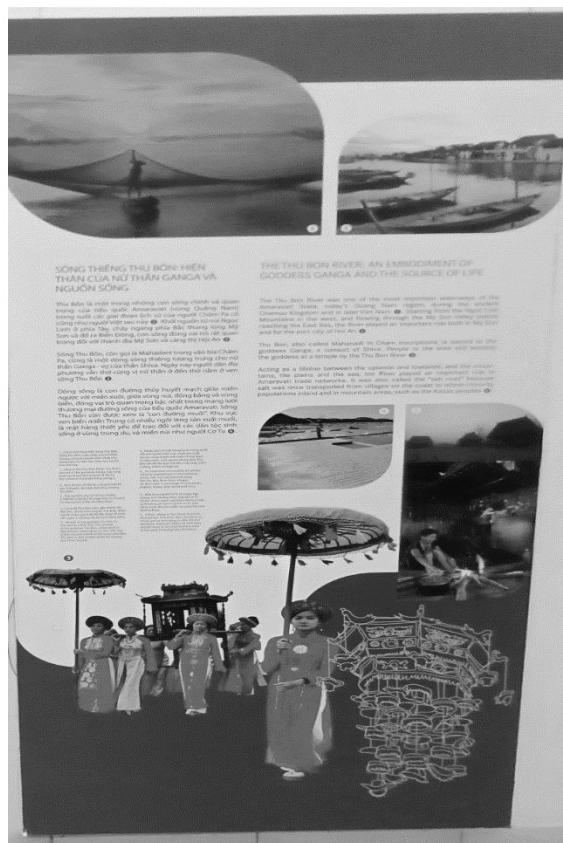


Fig 1: Poster on Mahanadi

Courtesy My Son Museum, March 2023

As the quality of picture is poor and write-up not clearly legible, the extract of the description is furnished below:

“THE THU BON RIVER: AN EMBODIMENT OF GODDESS GANGA AND THE SOURCE OF LIFE

The Thu Bon River was one of the most important waterways of the Amaravati State, today's Quang Nam region, during the ancient Champa Kingdom and later Viet Nam. Starting from the Ngoc Linh Mountains in the west, and flowing through the My Son valley before reaching the East Sea, the River played an important role both in My Son and for the port city of Hoi An.

Thu Bon, also called **Mahanadi** in Cham inscriptions, is sacred to the goddess Ganga, a consort of Shiva. People in the area are worshiping the goddess at a temple by the Thu Bon River.

Acting as a lifeline between the uplands and lowlands, and the mountains, the plains and the sea, the river played an important role in Amaravati trade networks. It was also called the “salt road” because salt was once transported from villages on the coast to ethnic minority populations inland and in mountain areas, such as the Katuic people.”

In other words, it can be said that this River was named “Mahanadi” during Champa period and has been changed to “Thu Bon” in later years. The valley of River Mahanadi (Thu Bon) was home to several different ancient cultures and civilisations during Champa period. The spiritual capital of Champa then named Champapura in Sanskrit inscriptions (Now named My Son), the political capital Simhapura (now named Tra Kieu) and the commercial capital Lam Ap Pho (now named Hoi An) were all located in valley of Mahanadi (Thu Bon) river.

River Mahanadi (Thu Bon) was one of the most important waterways of the Champa Kingdom and later of Viet Nam. Acting as a lifeline between the uplands and lowlands, and the mountains, the plains and the sea, this river played a vital role in trade networks. It served as the nexus of economic activities of the kingdom by connecting several economic zones stretching from the western mountains to the eastern plains and estuary. The Mahanadi (Thu Bon) estuary served as the key port of call of the maritime trade route particularly between China and India and in exchanging commodities with foreign merchants.



Fig 2. Mahanadi (Thu Bon) River mouth at Hoi An; March, 2023

Old Town Hoi An, the city's historic district, is recognised as a well-preserved example of a Southeast Asian trading port. The old city, its buildings and street plan reflecting a blend of indigenous and foreign influences, has been registered as a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1999.

The inscriptions referred to in the poster, naming Thu Bon River as Mahanadi, are My-son Stelae Inscription of Bhadravarman, Chiem-Son Rock inscription and My son Stelae Inscription of Sambhuvarman. These inscriptions describe the boundaries of the perpetual land grant made by king Bhadravarman for the temple of the God Bhadresvara. The first one 'My-son Stelae Inscription of Bhadravarman' is engraved on two faces of a stelae in front of the large temple of My-son to the east, contains 21 lines of writing. The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription is written throughout in prose. The lines 5 and 6 of the charter that describe the boundaries of the endowment are reproduced below:

(५) भद्रवर्मणा मानुष्यमध्वानं शा(त्वा) भद्रेश्वराय अक्षयी नीदी
दत्ता यथा (पूर्वेण)^३ (६) सुलहपर्वतो दक्षिणेन महापर्वतः पश्चिमेन
कुचकपर्वत उत्तरेण म(हानदी)

[47.p.05]

The lines are translated as:

'A perpetual endowment has been given to Lord Bhadresvara by our king Bhadravarman. The land area is bounded by Sulaha parvata in the east, Mahaparvata in the south, Kucaka parvata in the west and Mahanadi in the North.'

The second one ‘Chiem-Son Rock inscription’ engraved on a rock, overhanging the river Song-Thu-bon, a little to the east of My-son, contains only four lines in Sanskrit that describes the boundaries of the dominion belonging to the temple of Lord Bhadresvara. The lines are reproduced below:

- (१) पूर्वेण सु
- (२) ह पर्वत
- (३) दक्षिणेन महा.....पश्चिमेन कुचक प-
- (४) वर्त.....उत्तरेण महानदी ।

As compared to the text of other inscriptions describing the endowment, the northern boundary ‘Mahanadi’ mentioned in this record is clearly legible.

The other Sanskrit inscription namely ‘My son Stelae Inscription of Sambhuvarman’ also reports on the land grant and its boundaries. This inscription refers to two kings Sri Rudravarman and his successor (probably also son) Sambhuvarman. During the reign of the first, the temple of the God of Gods, i.e. the one erected by Bhadravarman-I for Lord Bhadresvara was destroyed by an incendiary. King Sambhuvarman re-installed the God under the name Sambhu-Bhadresvara (apparently so called after the original founder of the temple and its restorer). The inscription also confirms the grant of land made originally in ‘My-son Stelae Inscription of Bhadravarman.’ [47.p.09-10] Lines 21 to 23 of this record mention the boundaries of the endowment, part of which is not legible. [47.p.11]

As certain parts of each of these inscriptions are damaged and illegible, we have to refer to the respective lines of all the three inscriptions to appropriately ascertain the boundaries in all four sides i.e. east, west, south and north. Comparing the relevant portions of these inscriptions, we may restore the text as follows:

पूर्वेण सुलहपर्वतो दक्षिणेन महापर्वतः ।
पश्चिमेन कुचोकपर्वतः । उत्तरेण महानदी ॥ [47.p.08]

Lord Bhadresvara in Valley of Mahanadi (Thu Bon)

These three Sanskrit inscriptions of Champa, namely My-son Stelae Inscription of Bhadravarman, Chiem-Son Rock inscription and My

Son Stelae Inscription of Sambhuvarman are not dated. However, experts have assessed the period on palaeographic grounds, to be of the fifth century CE. All the three records mention the name of the King Bhadravarman who constructed a temple dedicated to Lord Siva, named as Lord Bhadresvara. The period of Bhadravarman has been estimated to be late fourth or early fifth century CE. [47.p.08] According to Cho Dinh Rock inscription, the full name of the King was Dharma-Maharaja Sri Bhadra-varman. He was a great scholar and was versed in the four Vedas. The temple of Lord Bhadresvara is the oldest known Siva temple in the Holy Land ‘My Son’ and enjoyed a very high standing in Champa.

My-son Stelae Inscription is supposed to have been authored by the King Bhadravarman himself. It records the perpetual gift of lands in favour of God Bhadresvara. After reverence to Lord Mahesvara, Goddess Uma, Brahma, and Vishnu, and offering obeisance to the Earth, Wind, Sky, Water and the Fire the king made a declaration in the following words:

“Having saluted them I wish all eminent people to note the following: That with a view to atone for all evil deeds, and to perform good and virtuous work, and having realised the destiny of human life, a perpetual endowment has been given to Bhadresvara by king Bhadravarman, who is devoted to the feet of Bhadresvarasvami: To wit, the land within (the boundaries viz.) Sulahaparvata in the east, Mahaparvata in the south, the Kucakaparvata in the west and the Mahanadi in the north, together with its inhabitants, has been given. The (royal share of the) revenue consisting of a sixth of the produce, but reduced, through the favour of the Lord or the owner of the temple to which land is given to one-tenth, is to be given to the God.” [47.p.07]

Some scholars have translated the Sanskrit name ‘Mahaparvata’ as Great Mountain and Mahanadi as Great River. Such translations of names will not only confuse the purpose but would misrepresent the reality. These being names of geographical landscapes, it is preferable to retain the original names of the features mentioned in Sanskrit epigraphic records. For proper appreciation of the readers, the original Sanskrit lines are reproduced below:

सुकृतो नयुतन्तुदा^२ भद्रेश्वर स्वामिपदानुज्या(ने)न चास्माक्(म्) महारा
 (जेन) (५) भद्रवर्मणा मानुष्यमध्वानं ज्ञा(त्वा) भद्रेश्वगय अक्षयी नीची
 दत्ता यथा (पूर्वेण)^३ (६) सुलहपर्वतो दक्षिणेन महापर्वतः पश्चिमेन
 कुचकपर्वत उक्तेरेण म(हानदी) (७) परिमाणाभ्यन्तरा सकुटुम्बि-

In India, Mahanadi is the name of an important river of Odisha (Kalinga). It originates from Amarkantak hills of Bastar plateau of Chhattisgarh and flows over a course of about 850 kilometres before finally entering the Bay of Bengal near Paradeep, a major port on the east coast of India. According to Puranic sources, Amarkantak hills formed the western limit of Kalinga and thus both Chhattisgarh and Odisha were part of the ancient Kalinga Empire. Prior to construction of dams and barrages at different points, Mahanadi was a major navigable river connecting a number of cities and trade centres and affording means of conveyance for the produce from an extensive hinterland of central India. The river has been referred to as the 'Manada' in Ptolemy's works. [161.p.71]

The water of Mahanadi is also considered sacred in Hindu pantheon. The 'Nagari Plates of Anangabhima-III' edited by D. C. Sircar and published in *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XXVIII, Part-VI, 1950 inform us that on two different occasions, i.e. on twenty-third February, and on twenty-sixth December of 1230 CE, the King Anangabhima III, issued land grants in favour of a Brahman named Sankarshana Nanda-Sarman, after taking sacred bath in the waters of the Mahanadi at the Abhinava-Varanasi Kataka (Cuttack city). [54.p.244]

It seems that people of Kalinga who founded the Champa kingdom in Vietnam, were from Mahanadi basin and thus named the life supporting river 'Thu Bon' as 'Mahanadi', in the name of the major river of their homeland. It is a well-known practice for colonisers to name the new country and place-names after famous places of their mother land. [33.p.xiv]

Champapura, the Temple City

As evident from "My-son Stelae Inscription of Prakasadharma, dated 579 Saka" (657 CE), the first dated inscription of Champa, the name of the temple city My Son was 'Champapura' where donations were made by king Prakasadharma-Vikranta Varman to the Gods Isanesvara, Sambhu-Bhadresvara and Prabhasesvara. [47.p.21] The temple architecture of the Holy Land My Son also provides evidences regarding influence of people of Mahanadi basin of India. My Son the most sacred place of the Champa kingdom, surrounded by mountains and drained by sacred streams that join Thu Bon (Mahanadi) river, is dotted with a number of old temples. Epigraphic evidence on the stelae at My Son indicates that construction began as

early as the 4th century CE by King Bhadravarman. From then onwards My Son valley became the Royal Religious Centre of Champa and many subsequent Kings constructed temples in that holy land. Researchers have found out that the temple building activity at My Son continued till the 13th century CE.



Fig 3. Temples of My Son, March 2023

The temples at My Son are built in groups, each group consisting of two main temples dedicated to Lord Shiva. The god is represented in two forms, as a Linga, or symbolic representation, and in anthropomorphic form.

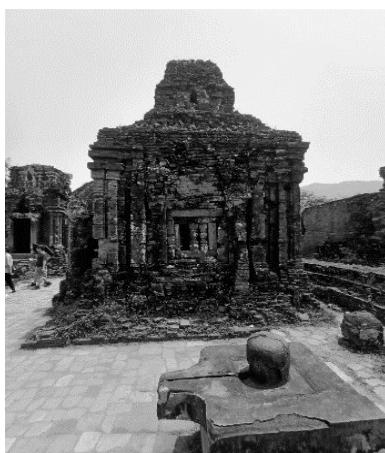


Fig 4. Shiva Linga in one of the My Son Temples; March 2023

The temples are constructed in fired brick with stone pillars and ornamented with artistic bas-reliefs depicting scenes from Hindu mythology.



Fig 5. Bas-reliefs of My Son Temple; March 2023

In its prime days the red brick temples surrounded by serene beauty of the hills and forests must have infused intense spiritual ecstasy in the body and mind of the visitors.

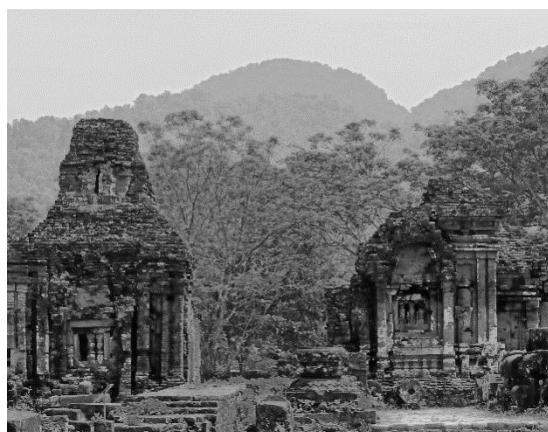


Fig 6. Temples with backdrop of Hills and Forests, March 2023

Like the temples of My Son, most of the ancient monuments of Champa kingdom were of brick masonry. The construction technology was so refined that the mortar joints between the bricks are almost invisible while the monuments are standing for hundreds of years.

Such unique brick architecture is also noticed around Sirpur, a small town on the bank of Mahanadi river, in the state of Chhattisgarh in India. The place is an archaeological and tourism site containing Hindu, Jain and Buddhist monuments from the fifth to twelfth centuries CE. These monuments are spread over a stretch of 150 kilometres from Rajim to Kharod along the bank of river Mahanadi. The earliest dated Sirpur monument is the Lakshmana temple, dated to 595-605 CE. It is a brick temple, mostly in ruins. The Rama temple site, however, does preserve the foundation outline of several shrines as well as brick stub of the lower part of the original Rama temple. The Baleshwar Mahadev temples group consists of several temples made out of bricks and stone.

Sirpur is referred to as Shripur and Sripura in ancient Indian texts. It has been reported in epigraphic records dated from 5th to the 8th centuries CE viz: Sirpur Stone Inscription of the time of Mahasivagupta, (*Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XI), [175.p.184]; Senakapat Inscription of the time of Sivagupta Balarjuna, Sirpur Inscription of the time of Balarjuna, and Adhabhara plates of Maha-Nannaraja, in *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XXXI [53.p.31, 197, 219]. Sirpur as Sripura is also mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription dated fourth century CE. The city was once the capital of the Sharbhapuriya and Somavamsi kings of Dakshina Koshala state. As a capital city and being on the bank of river Mahanadi, Sirpur had major commercial significance for the Dakshina Koshala kingdom.

The building technique of ancient brick temples on the bank of river Mahanadi in India and that of My Son of Champa of Vietnam have lots of similarities. The period of construction, fifth to twelfth century CE in respect of Sirpur monuments and fourth to thirteen century CE in respect of My Son also coincides. The north boundary of the My Son territory was named as Mahanadi during Champa period. Further, it is interesting to note that there is a city and municipality named Champa located on the banks of Hasdeo river, a tributary of Mahanadi in the state of Chhattisgarh. All these facts provide enough evidence that people of Mahanadi basin of India were associated with early development of Champa Kingdom in Vietnam.

Mahaparvata - Holy Mountain of the God Siva

Like Mahanadi, Mahaparvata also played a pivotal role in maritime trade of Champa. A poster of the My Son Museum describes it as

the Holy Mountain of The God Shiva. This mountain functioned as a navigational landmark that could be seen from the Champa Sea and guided the merchant ships to enter through Mahanadi mouth (Hoi An) into Champa territory. Because of its shape, resembling the beak of the holy bird Garuda, Mount Mahaparvata was often compared to Mount Meru, where the gods in Hindu mythology reside. It was a sacred mountain that was believed to guarantee peace and prosperity, and a symbol specific (*Kula Parvata*) to the royal family.



Fig 7. View of Mount Mahaparvata from My Son

Courtesy My Son Museum, March 2023

Founding of Champa Desha in Vietnam

Vietnam has a long history. Archaeological research findings suggest the creation of the first Vietnamese states in around 2879 BCE. Its long coast line, mountainous terrains and riverine fertile deltas were home to several different ancient cultures and civilisations. The Chinese were anxious to annex parts of Vietnam to have control over the growing maritime trade with India and Indonesia. In the second century BCE, Chinese began settling in the Red River Delta, and by 111 BCE the northern part of Vietnam was incorporated into the expanding Han Empire. In the following years, large numbers of Chinese settlers, officials and scholars moved south and imposed their control over the central and southern Vietnam.

The local rulers and the people in general, weren't happy about this. In 40 CE, the famous Trung Sisters organised the people, raised an army and led a revolt against Chinese domination. They proclaimed themselves queens of an independent Vietnam. However, after three years, the Chinese counterattacked and the rebellion was

defeated. The Trung Sisters are highly revered in Vietnam and regarded as national heroines as they led the first resistance movement against the occupying Chinese.

Subsequently, the native people rose up many times against Chinese control, but all were crushed. In 192 CE, an Indian, belonging to “Khu Lien” royal family, ‘Sri Mara’ led the people of Tuong Lam in Nhat Nam and successfully repelled the Chinese forces. A new kingdom was established in the Central and South Vietnam with the capital at Simhapura (Tra Kieu). That was the foundation for the Hindu-Buddhist Kingdom “Champa Desha” which survived till mid-fifteenth century CE. [165.p.63] This is supported by the Vietnamese epigraphic record the Vo-Chanh Rock Inscription, displayed in the My Son Museum. It records the first victory over the Chinese occupied territory by the royal family of Sri Mara.



Fig 8. Vo-Chanh Rock Inscription

Courtesy 'My Son Museum', March 2023

This inscription was found close to the village of Vo-Chanh in the province of Khanh-Hoa. It is composed in Sanskrit and written in an Indian script of the second or third century CE. [22.p.25]

The inscription mentions a pronouncement of the king belonging to the family of Sri Mara, with kindness for the people, that this is the “first conquest”, and let the people rejoice. Let them

drink the nectar of the words of king. For the welfare of the people, the king being seated on the throne in the midst of his own kinsmen, said let the people enjoy the wealth in common. Whatever silver, gold, movable and immovable property and stores of grain that he possess, are dedicated to those who are dear and near to the king. [47.p.2-3]

The Vo-Chanh Rock Inscription, composed in Sanskrit, substantiates that an Indianised state was founded in Vietnam by a Hindu ruler named Sri Mara in the second century CE.

Sri Mara – a Khu Lien

Scholars of Southeast Asian history are unanimous in their view that Sri Mara of Vo-Chanh inscription is the first historical Hindu King to establish the nucleus of the Indianised kingdom of Champa in 192 CE. He is also founder of a new royal family. Historians of Vietnam identify Sri Mara with “Khu Lien”. [165.p.63] This common name is written in different characters such as ‘K’ouen-louen’ in French, ‘Qu Lian’ or ‘Chu-lien’ in Chinese, ‘Kiu-lien’ and ‘K’un-lun’ or ‘Kun lun’ by others.

In fact this term originated from Chinese sources. According to Chinese history, in the year 137 CE, about 10,000 ‘Kiu-lien’, a barbarous tribe from beyond the frontier of their territories, attacked their southernmost districts, destroyed the Chinese forts and ravaged the whole country. The governor Fan-Yen raised ten thousand soldiers, but unwilling to undertake such a distant expedition they rose in revolt. Taking advantage of this respite, the Kiu-lien pushed their conquests further north, defeated the Chinese troops that opposed them, and occupied some of the Chinese districts. The Chinese emperor was inclined to send a military expedition against the intruders, but one of his ministers pointed out the futility of such a distant expedition, and advised his royal master to rely upon diplomacy. Accordingly Tchou Leang was sent to treat with them and the Kiu-lien were induced to evacuate the conquered territory in 138 CE. [33.p.17-18]

The ‘Kiu-lien’ of Chinese account was, most probably, an ethnic name of a civilised tribe possessing great military skill and organisation. They had come beyond the frontier of Vietnam, may be by way of trade and commerce, and gained confidence of the native people long before aspiring for political establishment.

This term Kiu-lien has been interpreted by scholars in many different ways. George Coedes, 1968, has expressed his view in the following words:

To a great extent it was undoubtedly this unity of culture that led the Chinese to group the diverse peoples of Farther India together under the name K'un-lun. ('Kiu-lienor Khu Lien' in Vietnamese). This name, it is true, did not appear until after Indianisation, and we may well wonder if the unity of Indian culture explains the term. This opinion could be argued from the fact that the Chinese speak of "K'un-Iun writing," and writing was a basic Indian contribution. But when they speak of "K'un-lun language" and of "K'un-lun merchants and pirates," they seem to apply this term to an ethno-linguistic entity. The word K'un-Iun has been interpreted in various ways. The researches of Gabriel Ferrand indicate that the word must have been used to transcribe many different indigenous terms that had become confused in Chinese usage. Sylvain Levi has interpreted the term as the equivalent of the Sanskrit expression '*Dvipantara*', "the people of the islands." [23.p.09]

As stated above, Sylvain Levi, the well-known French orientalist and Indologist, in his article "*Kouen Louen et Dvipantara*" published in 1931, has conclusively stated that the 'Chinese usage of the term of Kouen louen ('Khu Lien' in Vietnamese), would correspond to *Dvipantara* in Sanskrit. [43.p.627] Many others have supported this view. It is pertinent to mention here that the use of the word "*Dvipantara*" appears in the classical treatise "*Raghuvamsa*" of the scholarly poet Kalidasa of fourth century CE. This is perhaps the earliest mention of this word in Sanskrit literature.

Kalidasa while describing the '*swayamvara*' of princess Indumati, recounted the virtues of assembled kings in the voice of Sunanda, the chief companion of the princess. On this occasion the poet mentioned regarding *Dvipantara* with reference to 'Hemangada', the king of Kalinga. While declaring Kalinga as the lord of the ocean, Sunanda tells Indumati that if she chooses the king of Kalinga for her husband, she could sport with him on the shore of the ocean in the midst of rustling palms, while the winds wafting the flowers of cloves from the '*dvipantara*' remove the sweat from her skin. As it appears in this stanza of Sanskrit poetry, poet Kalidas has tried to highlight Kalinga's association with the distant islands of Southeast Asia, during that period. [28.p.573]

We have discussed in Chapter two of this book that Kalinga was the dominating maritime-power and had the commanding influence over the trade routes of the eastern sea. In the process of commercial interaction; along with the merchants, sailed the priests,

warriors and statesmen from Kalinga who not only settled there but established interpersonal, cultural and political rapport with the people of those countries of Southeast Asia by the early centuries of the current-era. The ‘Kiu-lien’ (Khu Lien) that invaded Chinese territory in 137 CE were not other than the Kalinga forces already settled in coastal Vietnam and/or supplemented by their kinsmen from other islands such as Java, Sumatra, Bali, etc. from the *Dripantara* of Kalidas.

H. B. Sarkar, 2007, a leading scholar of Southeast Asian History, emphatically and enthusiastically asserts that “K’un-lun people (Khu Lien), who figured prominently in the early Chinese texts, were the Kalinga people. [103.p.32] He explains that:

“The Chinese texts speak of K’un-lun people, K’un-lun scripts, K’un-lun merchants and pirates. These details indicate an ethno-linguistic entity. Although the art of writing is accepted by all scholars to be a contribution of India, attention of scholars should have been directed towards a region of India whose designation resembles the sound of K’un-lun. Instead of following this logic, many scholars wrongly accepted the suggestion that since the Malaya people were most adventurous and sea-faring, the designation of K’un-Iun people should apply to them. The protagonists of this view were certainly ‘wrong’ as the Malayans had no script of their own.” [27.p.10]

He further clarifies:

“A more positive indication was given in one of the Chinese texts, which has categorically stated that “in the vernacular, K’un- lun and Ku-Iung have the same sound, so that one can say either”. The statement establishes the point that the term Ku-Iung can be used to designate an ethno-linguistic entity. Now, since Indonesian linguistics permits the change from ‘u’ to ‘e’, we can have K’un-Iun / Ku-Iung-Keling, the usual designation of the Kalinga people in Indonesian charters in the most glorious period of Indo-Southeast Asian Cultural Countries.” [27.p.11]

As specified above by Shri Sarkar, epigraphic records also validate that people of Kalinga had their script from very early period. The ‘Musunika Grant of Devendravarman-III, edited by V.V. Mirashi and published in *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XXX, 1953-1954; inform that Kalinga had its own alphabet and script since ancient times. [112.p.24] The language of the copper plate grants of Svetaka Ganga dynasty of Kalinga is Sanskrit and script is Kalinga script. [118.p.11] This script is believed to have ultimately prepared the ground for the origin of Odia script and language, which is one of the oldest languages in the world. Padmashree Dr. Satyanarayana Rajguru, an eminent epigraphist of Odisha, has stated about the similarity of

script used in the inscriptions of Funan/Cambodia, with the script used by the Swetak Ganga dynasty of Kalinga. [98.p.85-87]

With all these evidences we safely conclude that ‘Kiu-lien’/‘K’un-lun’/‘Khu Lien’ stands for Kalinga and Sri Mara of Vo-Chanh inscription belonged to a royal family of Kalinga. I also personally verified the Vietnamese phonetics of the word ‘Khu Lien’ at Ho Chi Minh City, on 21 March, 2023. On request our tour guide read out the word ‘Khu Lien’, from a book published by The Museum of History that sounded like “Khah-ling”, which would aptly represent Kalinga.

Simhapura, the early Capital of Champa and Kalinga.

Simhapura of Champa

On the basis of epigraphic sources, the historians of Vietnam consider that the first capital city of Champa, from 192 CE to 750 CE, was named Simhapura. This was the period of unification of the Kingdom. [165.p.63] Researchers have identified the village Tra Kieu as the old capital corresponding to the name Simhapura of Champa inscriptions. However, as most of the archaeological evidence from the areas surrounding Tra Kieu are from the fifth to the eighth centuries, some historians opine that the Capital citadel at Simhapura was built around the end of 4th century under the rule of King Bhadravarman.

Tra Kieu is located to the south of River Thu Bon (Mahanadi) across a large, flat alluvial plain, about 18 Kilometres inland from the ancient port city Hoi An. The village extends along the southern bank of the Ba Ren, a small tributary of the Thu Bon River. In the early period it was an important political and economic centre of the Champa kingdom. But as on today nothing remains of the ancient city except the rectangular ramparts. The village is dominated by Buu Chau (Jade Hill), which is commonly identified as the citadel of ancient Simhapura. A panoramic view of the whole area can be viewed from its summit. However, the hill is crowned by a Catholic shrine built in 1898 CE.



Fig 9. Catholic Shrine on Buu Chau Hill, Tra Kieu



Fig 10. View of the Village from Hill top

In the late 19th and early 20th century, collectors found a number of stone sculptures belonging to the Champa culture in and around Tra Kieu, including fragments of the temple, Linga and relief ornaments, which encouraged the Archaeologists to conduct excavations. The French archaeologists Parmentier, Maspero and Claeys identified and excavated some temples at the eastern end of Buu Chau hill between 1918 and the 1930s (Claeys 1927, 1928). They have uncovered the foundations of two major and several minor Cham temples, large quantities of sculpture and some inscriptions. Most of these are now kept in the Museum of Cham Sculpture in Da Nang with smaller collections in museums in Paris, Saigon, Hue, Hanoi, Bangkok and elsewhere. [174.p.173]

Sculptures from Simhapura (Tra Kieu) in the Museum of History, Saigon



Fig 11. Lord Ganesh



Fig 12. Goddess Laxmi

Sculptures from Simhapura (Tra Kieu) in the Museum of Cham Sculpture, Da Nang



Fig 13. Dancing Shiva



Fig 14. Laxmi

The sculptures of Simhapura (Tra Kieu) bear the tender and flexible characteristics and the patterns of clothing, ornaments, and gestures of the personages are so diversified.



Fig 15. Lord Vishnu
Courtesy Museum of Cham Sculpture, Da Nang

Lord Vishnu seated cross-legged on the coils of the snake Ananta. Behind Vishnu, the thirteen heads of the snake rise up and form a hood.



Fig 16. Shiva Lingas found at Simhapura (Tra Kieu)
Courtesy Museum of Cham Sculpture, Da Nang



Fig 17. celestial dancer, (Apsara)
Courtesy Museum of Cham Sculpture, Da Nang

A masterpiece of Cham art from the capital Simhapura (Tra Kieu). This work depicts the celestial dancer, (*Apsara*) in the graceful *tribhanga* (three-bends) posture. Next to the dancer is the musician or *Gandharva* playing a string instrument called *ṭuila*.

The Cham people refer to the lion as “Rimon” and it is widely represented in sculptures, especially in capital Simhapura (City of Lions). The Cham lion often takes on a robust form mostly standing but also depicted sitting or kneeling. Unlike in the real life, the Cham lion is adorned with numerous jwelleries. [165.p.70]



Fig 18. Standing Lions from Simhapura

Courtesy Museum of Cham Sculpture, Da Nang



Fig 19. Sitting Lions from Simhapura

Courtesy Museum of Cham Sculpture, Da Nang

Although the lion does not exist in Champa the kings used it as a royal symbol. From the Cham point of view the lion is an animal of nobility, is one of the 10 reincarnations of Vishnu, and it killed the devil Hiranya Kasipu. [165.p.70]

Simhapura of Kalinga

Simhapura, well known as one of the chief cities of Kalinga, was mentioned in quite a number of early Kalinga grants and in early Buddhist literature. [54.p.229] Most of the copper plate inscriptions of Mathara dynasty of Kalinga during 4th to 6th century CE were issued from there, at the capital at Simhapura. [68.p.198] Some of these grants are mentioned below briefly:

1. The ‘Brihatproshtha grant of Umavarman’, edited by Professor E. Hultzsch and published in *Epigraphia Indica* Volume XII, 1913-1914, p. 4; informs that both kings Chandavarman and Umavarman issued their edict from Simhapura and bore the epithets “lord of Kalinga”. [119.p.04]
2. The Madras Museum Plates of Anantasakti Varman, edited by M. Venkataramayya and published in *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XXVIII, Part VI, 1950, pp 226-235, reports that Maharaja Anantasaktivarman, describing himself as Lord of Kalinga (*Kalingadhipati*), issued the grant from his capital, Simhapura.
3. The ‘Andhavaram plate of Anantasakti Varman edited by R. Subrahmanyam and published in *Epigraphia Indica* Volume XXVIII, Part VI, 1950, pp. 175-179 describes the king as lord of Kalinga with Simhapura as its capital.
4. The ‘Ningondi Grant of Prabhanjanavarman’ edited by D. C. Sircar and published in *Epigraphia Indica* Volume XXX, 1953-1954, pp. 112-118 says that the illustrious Maharaja Prabhanjanavarman, son of Saktivarman and grandson of Sankaravarman issued the grant from the victorious city of Simhapura. He is also described as the increaser of the fame of the Mathara family, the ornament of his own family and the lord of the entire Kalinga country. [112.p.113]

All the above Kings belong to Mathara dynasty of Kalinga. The political supremacy of the Matharas extended from the river Mahanadi in the north to Godavari in the south. King Saktivarman

was one of the powerful rulers of the dynasty. During his rule Kalinga extended up to the river Godavari. He has been described in the Ragolu charter as the son of Vasistha and lord of the entire Kalinga (*Sakala-Kalingadhipati*). The next important ruler of the dynasty was Prabhanjanavarman. In the Ningondi grant which was issued from the victorious city Simhapura the king was described as the lord of entire Kalinga (*Sakala-Kalirigadhipati*). The next powerful ruler of the dynasty was Nandaprabhanjanavarman. In the Chicacole and Baranga plate he styled as lord of entire Kalinga country or *Sakala Kalingadhipati*. He issued the charter from Simhapura. [118.p.06]

From their copper plate grants we can assume that the Matharas never acknowledged the supremacy of the Guptas. During their rule Kalinga was a prosperous country. Both merchants and monks used to navigate to Sri Lanka and other south-east Asian islands for trade and missionary activity. [98.p.217]

The language of Kalinga during the reign of Mathara dynasty, was Sanskrit. All the kings used Varman title like the kings of Champa. Naming of the capital as Simhapura and river as Mahanadi in Champa validates that Kalinga influence was undeniable.

Ganga Dynasty in Champa

Another important factor that connects Kalinga with Champa is the rule of Ganga dynasty in both the countries. Epigraphic records of Champa reveal that King Rudravarman, a scion of Ganga dynasty occupied the throne of Champa in 529 CE. The ‘My son Stelae Inscription’ issued by King Sambhuvarman, the son and successor of Rudravarman, begins with veneration to “Gangesa”. This Inscription informs that during the reign of King Rudravarman, the famous Bhadresvara temple of Champa erected by King Bhadravarman-I, sometimes in the fourth century CE, was destroyed by fire. King Sambhuvarman re-established the temple, and re-named the deity as Sambhu-Bhadresvara, thus adding his own name to that of the original founder. He also confirmed the endowments made to the temple by Bhadravarman. [47.p.10-11]

The above charter also tells that Rudravarman belonged to the Brahma-Ksatriya family. It is stated in another inscription that he was the son of an eminent Brahmana, and the ‘son of the daughter’s daughter of glorious King Manorathavarman. [47.p.21]

My-son Stelae Inscription issued by King Prakasadharma in 657 CE (579 Saka) provides more detailed genealogy of Ganga ruling family of Champa. The record begins with a king ‘Gangaraja’ who was famed for the royal qualities of knowledge and heroism, but abdicated the throne and ‘retired to the banks of the Ganges, for the joy arising from the view of River Ganges was very great’. Then there were kings named ‘Manorathavarman’, Rudravarman, Sambhuvarman, Kandarpadharma, and others, with the last, Maharaja Sri Prakasadharma, following the interpolated story concerning Kaundinya dynasty of Cambodia. [47.p.21-25] Gangaraja is placed at the head of the long genealogical list in this inscription, implying thereby that he was the head of a new family. This is made explicit in ‘My-son Stelae Inscription of Vikrantavarman-II’, wherein Prakasadharma (or Vikrantavarman) is said to belong to the family of “Gangesvara”, which may be taken as another form of the name Gangaraja. It would then follow that the kings of this family could lay claim to the kingdom of Champa only by virtue of their relationship with Gangaraja. [33.p.35]

The genealogy detailed in ‘My-son Stelae Inscription of Prakasadharma, dated 579 Saka can be summarised as under:

Gangaraja → Manorathavarman → Daughter → Daughter → [Son] Rudravarman → [Son] Sambhuvarman → [Son] Kandarpadharma → [Son] Prabhasadharma → {his} Sister (Kandarpadharma’s daughter) married to Satyakausikasvami → their Son- Bhadresvaravarman and his son Jgaddharma married Sri Sarvani, the daughter of Cambodge king Isanavarman → [their Son] Prakasadharma, issued the above inscription.

Prakasadharma was succeeded by Vikrantavarman-II and Rudravarman-II. This dynasty ruled Champa for about two centuries up to 750 CE.

Gangas of Kalinga

Ganga dynasty was one of the glorious and illustrious royal families of Kalinga (subsequently named as Utkala and now Odisha) that ruled for more than 900 years, commencing from the last part of the fifth century up to the mid-fifteenth century CE. A number of inscriptions of this dynasty in Kalinga used to decorate their celebrated predecessor with the appellation “Gangesvara”; as has been reported in Champa. Some such records include the Mukhalinga temple inscriptions of Saka 1062 (1140 CE) and 1063

(1141 CE); Sri Kurmam temple inscription of Saka 1064 (1142 CE) and the Muktesvara temple inscription, which declare the Ganga king Ananta Varman Chodaganga as “Gangesvara”. [55.p.205, 213, 227 & 248]

The Ganga dynasty owes its origin to a very ancient race of India, which inhabited the banks of the River Ganges. Three hundred years before the birth of Christ, when the famous Greek ambassador Megasthenes came to India, he observed the Ganga race and mentioned the name of this race as ‘Gangaridae’ in his *Indika*. From the accounts of Megasthenes we come to know that the race of Gangaridae inhabited the regions between the Ganges in the north, river Damodar in the south, Magadha in the west, and the sea in the east. When Pliny observed in 72 CE, this Ganga race had gradually moved towards the south and had settled itself down in the central Kalinga on the banks of the river Vamsadhara. [134.p.160]

The copper-plate grants of Kalinga king Anantavarman Chodaganga Deva traces the origin of Ganga dynasty and relates it to the sacred River Ganga. Dr. Fleet, the Government Epigraphist of British India from 1883 to 1886 has translated the Sanskrit text, the gist of which is given bellow:

“Beginning with the creation and manifestation of Lord Vishnu, Brahma and sage Atri, the genealogy comes to king Turvasu, who had no son. Turvasu, practising self-restraint, propitiated sacred River Ganga, and obtained a son, named Gangeya. The descendants of Gangeya ruled the world, under the name of Ganganvaya. After a number of generations a king named Virasimha was born in this lineage. His sons were five in number; Kamarnnava, Danarnnava, Gunarnnava, Marasimha and Vajrahasta. Kamarnnava, gave over his own territory to his paternal uncle, and came to the mount Mahendra where he worshipped the Lord Gokarnesvara Siva. By the grace of the lord Gokarnesvara, Kamarnnava conquered (king) Baladitya, and took possession of the Kalinga country. Kamarnnava (Kamarnavadeva) governed Kalinga for thirty-six years.” [56.Appendix-C] {Rajaguru, S.N., 1961; Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. III Pat II; Appendix-C}

One branch of Ganga race, passing under the name of Western Gangas, settled in southern Mysore. The branch which continued to live in Kalinga while rising to its fame is described as the Eastern Gangas. Towards the closing years of the fifth century CE, they were seen ruling over the Tri-Kalinga region of Kalinga. There they lived for six hundred years through many political storms till at length, in the eleventh century, their power began to be felt in other parts of Kalinga. When the Somavamsi Dynasty declined and their kingdom

disintegrated, the Gangas came forward to avail themselves of that opportunity and to create for themselves a big empire. It was Ananta Varman Chodaganga Deva of this dynasty who united the whole of Kalinga within its traditional boundary between the Ganges and Godavari, and built a powerful empire which lasted under his successors for more than three centuries as the strongest Hindu state of India against continuous Muslim onslaughts from different corners. [113.p.97]

Most probably, the Gangas after strengthening their hold over Kalinga by late fifth century CE had triggered the change of power in Champa to safeguard their commercial interest, and by early sixth century succeeded to install a scion of theirs on the throne of Champa. We, therefore, come across the epithet “Gangesvara” in both Champa and Kalinga inscriptions.

Indrapura Dynasty a Bhaumakara Tradition

The history of Champa took a turn in second half of the ninth century, when a new dynasty came to power in 870 CE. They shifted the capital from Simhapura to Indrapura and propagated a unique religious culture of Mahayana Buddhism and Saivite Hinduism.

Indrapura, now named as Dong-Duong, is situated at about 20 kilometres to the south-east of My Son and about 50 km from Da Nang, in the province of Quang-Nam. During its magnificence, Indrapura was a highly organised, well-urbanised city. It had the largest Buddhist monastery of Southeast Asia at that time. But the capital has almost been completely destroyed by time and wars. What remains of that today is a dilapidated tower and broken bricks scattered on the ground.



Fig 20. The ruins of Indrapura (Dong Duong), March 2023

The site was excavated by Henri Parmentier and Charles Carpeaux in 1902. They could recognise the vestiges of eroded citadel; the royal palace area; watch towers; ruins of the Monastery; paved roads, bridges, and sewer system of the ancient city.

The sculptures and artefacts that were retrieved from Indrapura have been displayed in the Museum of Cham Sculpture, Da Nang and Museum of History, Saigon. The grandeur of these Ssculptures reminds the splendour and spread of the capital city built by King Indravarman-II. Image of some of these artefacts are reproduced below:



Fig 21. The Buddha, Avalokitesvara and Lokesvara
Courtesy the Museum of History, Saigon, March 2023

The Dong Duong (Indrapura) Buddha (above) is presented standing on a lotus flower with a long robe draped over one shoulder, the other bare, the hair in spiral curls, long ears almost touching the shoulder, eyes open, and a full but slim face. This robust statue is cast in Indian style so true that researchers have mistaken it with those made in India. The influence of Buddhism in Champa was strongest during the period of Indrapura. [165.p.74]



**Fig 22. Buddha Statue of Vietnam
Courtesy Museum of History Saigon, March 2023**

Images of Indrapura (Dong Duong) artefacts from Museum of Cham Sculpture Da Nang:



Fig 23. Buddhist Assembly



Fig 24. Dvarapalaq



Fig 25. Mara



Fig 26. Pedestal



Fig 27. The Buddha and Others

The Siva-Buddha Religious Culture

The 'Dong Duong Stelae Inscription of Indravarman-II, dated 797 Saka (875 CE)' that was found at Indrapura site, provides details regarding the genealogy and the religious faith of the new dynasty. The inscription begins with reverence to Shri Laxmindra Lokesvara; Buddhist deity of Mahayana sect. Then follows the prayers for the Saivite Lord Bhadresvara and Sambhubhadresvara. The King announces that Sambhubhadresvara, shining in the company of a

number of gods, protected *Champapuri* (the city of Champa) where all the religions were prevalent.

The inscription speaks of a divine origin of the new dynasty and gives the following genealogy of the king Indravarman-II:

Paramesvara → Bhrgu → Uroja → Dharmmaraja → Sri Rudravarma → Bhadravarma → Indravarman. [47.p.84]

In praising him in extravagant terms it proclaims that Sri Indravarman has become the king of Champa through the grace of Mahesvara (Siva). He gained the kingdom, by the special merit of his austerities, and by virtue of his pure intelligence, but not from his grandfather or father. [47.p.85]

**XXII तपःफलविशेषाच्च पुण्यबुद्धिपराक्रमात् ।
.....मो नृपः प्राप्तो न पितुर्न पितामहात् ॥**

[47.p.78]

The charter highlights that King Indravarman-II, desiring to learn what Dharma is, and being skilful in finding out the essence of supreme truth, erected the image of the eminent Lokesvara, born from a succession of the Buddhas. For the sake of Dharma, he founded a monastery and placed all necessities of life there in for the enjoyment of the community of monks as well as other creatures. He donated land together with their corns, male and female slaves and other goods, such as gold, silver, bell-metal, iron, copper etc., to Lokesvara, and monastery for the sake of propagation of Dharma.[47.p.87-88]

This inscription brings out an interesting religious custom, a fusion of Saivite Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism, introduced in Champa, for the King shows his traditional faith in Saivism but affords royal patronage for Buddhism. Other charters of this dynasty inform that the royal family, minister and nobles used to worship both Siva and Buddha in different periods. The 'Bo-Mang Stelae Inscription' of Indravarman-II of 889 CE records that his minister erected a Saiva image and made donation of lands and slaves for the temple on behalf of the King. [47.p.89-92] The King in 'Phu Thuan Stelae Inscription' employed priests and exempted all taxes of the Siva temple Bhagya-kantesvara. [47.p.92] Buddhism also had obtained a great deal of royal favour. At least eight inscriptions of this dynasty specifically refer to that religion. Statues and temples of Buddha were erected by kings and people alike. There was a powerful community

of Buddhist monks for whom monasteries were constructed in different parts of the kingdom. [33.p.208-209]

The sanctuaries of Siva and Buddha and monasteries of these two sects were often erected side by side by the same donor. The reciprocal influence of these two religious sects is also indicated by the fact that Buddha was called Damaresvara, the lord of Damaras or bhutas, an epithet originally belonging to Siva. It is also a noteworthy fact that figures of Siva decorated the famous Buddhist temples of Dong Duong. [33.p.211]

The ‘An-Thai Stelae Inscription dated 902 CE records the consecration of a statue of Lokeavara and monasteries by the king, at the request of, and out of respect for Sthavira (monk) Naga-Puspa, the abbot of the monastery of Pramudita-Lokesvora. Besides, the charter emphasises certain ritualistic practice with mystical commands for Tantric deities such as Vajrapani, Vajradhatu, Padmadhatu, Cakradhatu, Vajrasattva, Vairocana etc. [47.p.105-109] The elements of this inscription thus leads to a noteworthy conclusion that along with Saivism and Mahayana Buddhism, Vajrayana and Tantrayana had penetrated into the religious custom of the Vietnamese society during this period.

Siva-Buddha Tradition of Bhaumakara Family

An identical religious custom of Mahayana Buddhism with strong admixture of Saivite Hinduism was ritualistically practiced in Odisha (Kalinga) by the ruling Bhaumakara family almost hundred-fifty years before it was embraced by the rulers of Champa. This dynasty ruled Odisha for more than two hundred years from the mid-eighth to mid-tenth century CE. They named their domain as “Toshali” or “Toshala”, a term used for the first time by Asoka at Dhauli, Bhubaneswar prior to a millennium. Toshali under the Bhaumakaras included Medinipur of West Bengal in the north (Dandabhukti mandala) and extended up to Mahendragiri in the south. It was divided into North Toshali and South Toshali with the River Mahanadi as the dividing line. Guhadeva Pataka or Guhesvara Pataka located to the north of River Baitarani not far-from Jajpur town was their capital. [02.p.109]

Though most of the Bhaumakara kings were ardent devotees of the Buddha their queens used to worship Lord Siva and Vishnu. The legacy of their patronage to Hindu-Buddhist theology is discernible from the copper-plate inscriptions issued by the family. One such inscription, called the ‘Neulpur grant’ issued by Sri Subhakaradeva-I (780-800 CE), the second in line of the dynasty, on the 23rd day of *Margasirsha*, in Bhauma-Samvat 54 (790 CE) declares him as a *parama-*

sangatah ‘entirely devoted to the Buddha’. The charter records his father, king Sri-Sivakaradeva-I (736-780 CE) as *parama-tathagatah* ‘a devout worshipper of the Tathagata i.e. Buddha’ and his grandfather Sri-Kshemankaradeva, as a *paramopasaka*, ‘a dedicated lay Buddhist’. However, the king in this grant, donated two villages, namely *Purnata droni*-Komaparaka and Dandankiyoka, in favour of two hundred Brahmanas well versed in the four Vedas. A stone inscription found in Hamsesvara temple of village Sadasivapur near Jaipur town reveals that his queen Madhavadevi built the Madhavesvara Siva Temple and appointed a *Saivacharya* for the worship of the deity. Sri Subhakaradeva-I is revered by his successors to have constructed many Buddhist monasteries during his reign. [184.p.209] Subsequent kings and queens of this dynasty made grants for Buddhist institutions as well as for Hindu temples. The queens of this family have styled themselves as *Paramesvari* and *Paramavaishnavi*; a devout worshiper of Siva and Vishnu.

The dedication and commitment to Buddhism by this dynasty encouraged growth of large number of monastic institutions in Bhaumakara kingdom. The stupas, shrines and sculptures discovered at Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, Lalitagiri, Kolangiri, Langudi, Vajragiri, Kaima, Solampur, Khadipada, and many other sites of their domain speak of extensive growth of Mahayana Buddhism in Odisha in eighth century CE. These monasteries were the seats of culture and education which taught both religious as well as secular education. In course of time some of the monasteries grew up into famous universities. As torch bearers of the Buddhist culture, these institutions attracted pupils and scholars not only from India but also from many foreign countries.’ [184.p.210]

The rulers of Bhaumakara dynasty not only professed Mahayana Buddhism but immensely contributed for development of Vajrayana and Tantrayana Buddhism. Plenty of sculptural marvels pertaining to Vajrayana pantheon have been discovered in Buddhist establishments of their kingdom. Many such artefacts were unearthed at Ratnagiri Maha-vihara of Jajpur district. Dr. (Mrs.) Debala Mitra, who took up the excavation of the Buddhist site at Ratnagiri, on behalf of the Archaeological Survey of India, wrote:

“Indeed, Ratnagiri of Odisha, the nucleus of Mahayana and Vajrayana Buddhism, was all but forgotten, either in records or in tradition, in India itself. Curiously enough, a faint memory of the establishment lingered in a few late Tibetan works. The information supplied by these Tibetan works is no doubt scrappy, but it affords a glimpse of Ratnagiri as an important religious and philosophical academy where eager student and scholar used to repair to study under the intellectual stalwarts of Buddhism. The Tibetan texts also hint at the contribution of the centre towards

Kalachakrayana, an offshoot of the Vajrayana form of Buddhism. Special esteem appears to have been attached to this seat of learning.”[184.p.212]



Fig 28. Gateway of RatnagiriMaha-Vihara, Odisha

According to Prof. P. V. Bapat, 1956, the chief editor of “*2500 years of Buddhism*” published by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, “Tantrism evolved in Odisha in 720 CE and introduced to other countries.”

Scholars opine that Vajrayana emerged from the fusion of Saivite Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism. The rituals of Saivism, Saktism and Buddhism were blended together. The system introduced scores of previously unknown deities of variant forms to be adored in both the faiths. The technical expertise necessary to propitiate them in pursuit of siddhis such as the mantras, dharanis, mandals and yantras were put into practice in both Hindu and Buddhist tradition. A number of offshoots of Vajrayana such as Kalachakrayana, Mantrayana, and Sahajayana were concocted by Siddhacharyas, or tantric teachers. The Bhaumakara family not only extended whole-hearted royal favour to the growth and expansion of these cults, but also earnestly dedicated themselves to furtherance of the faith and authored new doctrines of international repute.

As discussed in Chapter two under sub-chapter “Transfer of Buddhist Tantra from Odra to China in eighth century CE, it was the members of Bhaumakara dynasty who along with the Mahayana Buddhism also founded the doctrine of Tantrayana Buddhism and propagated in countries of Southeast Asia. As reported in published research works, Subhakarasimha, the founder preceptor of Tantrayana, had a number of disciples from Korea and Japan who propagated the doctrine of Tantric Buddhism in their countries. His name also appears in Vietnamese language as ‘Thien Vo Uy’. It is

possible that he or his disciples have preached Tantra in that country particularly in Champa kingdom.

The religious liberalism in Bhaumakara family with freedom of members pursuing different faiths also became a tradition in Champa during Indrapura period. The practice of Mahayana, Vajrayana and Tantrayana Buddhism along with Hinduism indicate direct influence of Odisha on religious culture of Champa. Besides there are other indications in the inscriptions of Indrapura ruling family which suggest rather an established relationship with Bhaumakaras. Some of the hints are discussed in following paragraphs.

Jaya Guhesvara vs. Guhesvara-Pataka

The Ban-Ianh Stelae Inscription of Jaya Simhavarman-I (of Champa), issued in 898 CE, was found in a village about 20 Kilometers to the north of Dong Duong. The inscription (partly in Sanskrit and partly in Cham) purports to be a deed of protection and immunity granted by King Jaya Simhavarman in favour of two temples. The charter begins with ‘Om Namah Sivaya’ and Swosti. The first verse, mentioned below, sings the praise of the Supreme Sri Jaya Guhesvara, who triumphs in the three worlds and before whose lotus-like feet prostrate multitudes of Gods, Asuras (demons) and Munis (sages). [47.p.96]

आँनमश्शवाय.

I. स्वस्ति

त्रैतोक्ये जयनि श्रेष्ठस्तथा जय गुहेश्वरः ।
देवासुरमुनिसङ्कृन्तादिभूतयाम्बुजः ॥

[47.p.94]

Another charter namely ‘Dong Duong Stelae Inscription’ issued by King Jayasimhavarman-I commences with an invocation in honour of Paramesvara Guhesvara, and then follows an eulogy of the king. It records some pious foundations by Princess Haradevi Rajakula, younger sister of the mother of the king. Haradevi Rajakula was the widow of a king who had the posthumous name Parama-Buddhaloka. The Abhisekanama of this king is not recorded in Champa. [47.p.99] The ‘Hoa-Questelae Inscription’ of Bhadravarman-III, dated 909 CE also mentions Sri Jaya Guhesvara. [47.p.119]

We find in Odisha history that Bhaumakara King Subhakaradeva-IV (865-882 CE) had changed the name of his capital city from Guhadeva-Pataka to Guhesvara-Pataka from where he issued a grant in 881 CE. According to Vishnu Purana Bhaumas are associated with king Guha who was ruling over Kalinga, Mahisika and Mahendra region. The Bhaumakara dynasty, claiming themselves as descendants of king Guha, named their capital as Guhesvara-pataka as a tribute to their illustrious ancestor. [02.p.110]

Haradevi vs. Hiramahadevi

As mentioned above the ‘Dong Duong Stelae Inscription’ of King Jayasimha-varman-I records some pious foundations by Princess Haradevi Rajakula, the maternal aunt of the king. After recounting the customary eulogy of the king, the charter admires the abilities and talents of Haradevi in the following words:

“That, she is adept in virtuous work, endowed with exceptional trait, and jewelled with rising fortune; she takes delight in her fame and hopes; she is an asylum of pious thoughts formed in her mind, and sophisticate in her decor of dress, perfumes and flowers. She takes delight in her devotion to the feet of her husband; she is well disposed towards the supreme truth; she makes the best use of her wealth according to religious precepts and her inborn qualities; she constantly makes gifts to Brahmanas, ascetics (yatis) and virtuous people in the world, and she lives with the sole object of worshipping the feet of Siva. Her fame was purified by the praises of elderly relatives; she was united with fortune merely to cause unmixed delight to them: she was noble; she obtained dear and pure boons from the favour of those elderly persons; her riches were produced by unshakable determination and her intelligence was without blemish.” [47.p.103]

In order to glorify the religious merit of his mother’s younger sister princess Haradevi, the King Sri Jayasimhavarmadeva installed the august goddess known as Haromadevi in the city of Indrapura. Haradevi installed Sri Indraparamesvara for the sake of religious merit of her husband king Sri Paramabuddhaloka. She also installed the god Sri Rudra-paramesvara for increasing the religious merit of her father and goddess Sri Rudroma for increasing the religious merit of her mother. His majesty king Sri Jayasimhavarmadeva granted exemption from taxes to all these temples. [47.p.104]

However, we come across the name Hiramahadevi, in Bhaumakara family of Odisha. She was the queen of Santikaradeva-II, otherwise known as Lonabhara and Gayada-II, who ruled Toshali from 850 to 865 CE. She was the daughter of king Simhamana of Mana dynasty.

Hiramahadevi is described as Maharajadhiraja Paramesvari in the plate of her son which indicates that she assumed the reins of administration for some time after the death of her husband when her sons were minor. [02.p.115]

Talcher Plate of Subhakaradeva-IV (865-882 CE) and that of his brother Sivakaradeva-III (882-890 CE) issued from Guhesvara-pataka, reports that both of them were the sons of Maharajadhiraja Paramesvari Sri Hiramahadevi, who is magnanimous, who appears, like the moon, to gladden the world, who is a born inveterate of all royal accomplishments including the state-craft, self-discipline and success and who is capable of being bowed to by numerous rulers. [166.p.33-41]

There is lots of similarities in the virtues of Haradevi as enunciated in Champa inscription and that of Queen Hiramahadevi in Bhaumakara charters. Some historians consider Haradevi as the wife of King Indravarman-II, but this is not endorsed by the epigraphic records of Champa.

Tribhuvanamahadevi of Indrapura and Bhaumakara Dynasty

Another significant name that occurs in the records of both Indrapura and Bhaumakara ruling families is that of Queen Tribhuvanamahadevi. In Champa she was the queen of Jayasimhavarman-I, who ruled from 895 to 904 CE. The 'Nhan-Bieu Stelae Inscription' of Indravarman-III dated 911 CE, in verse three has praised her in extravagant terms as under:

**III. सती नामा या श्रीत्रिभुवनमहादेव्यनुपमा
नृपस्त्रीणां तस्यावनिपभवनेष्वग्रमहिषीं ।
प्रधाना सर्वासां सुचरितरतापत्यसहिता
विभाति प्रायेण स्वपतिभवने श्रीरिच रुचा ॥**

[47.p.130]

It is translated as:

"In the house of that king, the chaste and incomparable Tribhuvana Mahadevi was the chief among all the queens. She was the foremost among all (the queens) and virtuous, and shone with her children in her husband's house almost like Sri." [47.p.133]

This Inscription records consecration of a temple of Siva called Devalingesvara in 908 CE and a Buddhist monastery of

Avalokitesvara in 911 CE, in honour of the grandmother of Tribhuvanadevi (Tribhuvanamahadevi). [47.p.129] The charter also refers to Tribhuvanamahadevi's father's family as of very high standing. It provides a detailed account of the son of the queen's cousin named Pov Klun Pilah Rajadvarah. [33.p.62] Verse seven admires him as intelligent, prudent, religious and politic. Out of great devotion for the king he was very obedient to his commands. He became a favourite captain of the king Sri Jayasimhavarman-I and had riches equal to his desires. At the command of the king he went to the capital of Yavadvipa (Java) on a diplomatic mission, and obtained credit by the success of his undertaking. [47.p.134] He continued to be the principal political advisor to three generations of kings starting from Sri Jayasimhavarman-I. He made a second successful mission to Java during the reign of king Bhadravarman-III. King-emperor Sri Indravarman-III, the son and successor of Bhadravarman-III, decorated him with an honourable title of 'Akaladhipati' for the zeal with which he served the kingdom and sought his advice on important political matters. [47.p.135] It appears that Queen Tribhuvanamahadevi had strong hold on political state of affairs of Champa as her paternal relations had influenced the internal and external affairs of the state administration.

In Bhaumakara dynasty of Odisha we find the name 'Tribhuvanamahadevi' as imperial title of the woman rulers. Three queens of the family have assumed the said name on ascending the throne.

Gosvaminidevi, the queen of Santikaradeva-I took the burden of administration upon the death of her son in 845 CE, assuming the imperial title of Tribhuvanamahadevi-I. She is described as an ideal ruler who vanquished the enemies, spread the glory of her family and established social harmony. She was a devout worshipper of Hari and a great patron of Vaishnavism. Tribhuvanamahadevi-I ruled for five years up to 850 CE and abdicated the throne in favour of her grandson Santikaradeva-II when the latter came of age and was considered fit to bear the burden of administration. She was the first known woman of the Bhaumakara family to take the rein of administration and was a source of inspiration to the subsequent women rulers of Toshali. [02.p.115]

In 890 CE Prthvi-mahadevi, the queen of Subhakaradeva-IV ascended the throne as her husband and the latter's brother Sivakaradeva-III died childless. She assumed the coronation sobriquet

Tribhuvanamahadevi-II and ruled up to 896 CE. She was succeeded by another woman ruler, the widowed queen of Sivakara-III, who assumed the name Tribhuvanamahadevi-III. [02.p.117]

Perhaps the name ‘Tribhuvanamahadevi’ has something to do with political and administrative power of the state in the ninth century CE, both in Champa and Odisha, for the title has been preferred by influential queens.

Sculptural Affinity of Buddha Image

The iconography of Hindu-Buddhist sculptures of Odisha and Champa presents several common features. Apart from the brick temple architecture of upper Mahanadi basin and that of My Son, the Buddha heads and figures of Champa share common traits of massive form, sensitive modelling and spiritual expressions with those excavated from Ratnagiri and Udayagiri of Odisha. The typical spiral curls of hair, long ears, divine sublimity combined with the feeling of latent energy are the marked similarities noticed in these figures of Odisha and Champa.

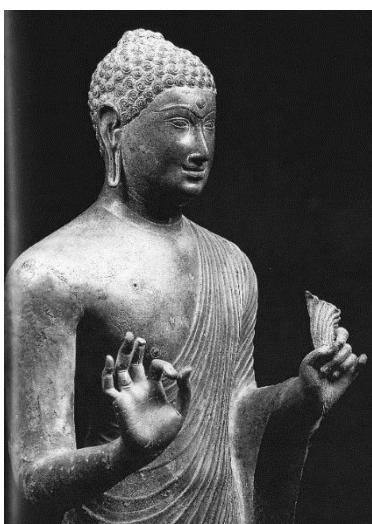


Fig 29. Buddha Statue, Indrapura, Champa



Fig 30. Buddha Head, Ratnagiri, Odisha

The resemblance in carving the Buddha Head signals some sort of link between Champa and Kalinga (Odisha).

CHAPTER 5

The Kalinga Province of the Philippines

The province named Kalinga was created in Philippines on February 14, 1995 by the Government of Philippines, for one of the major ethno-linguistic groups inhabiting central Cordillera mountain ranges of northern Luzon. The capital of the province is Tabuk and it borders the province of Apayao, Cagayan to the north, Mountain Province to the south, Isabela to the East and Abra to the west.



Fig 1. Tabuk, March, 2019

The topography of the Kalinga province is rugged and mountainous, cut through the Chico River coming from Mount Data and emptying into the Cagayan River. Several small lakes can also be found in the Kalinga. A larger portion of the sub-province is open grassland suitable for pasture, but the higher elevation in the west is forested by rich pine trees. Rizal and Tabuk with their flatlands are the biggest rice producers. Next in rice production are the rice terraces of Pinukpuk, Tinglayan, and Lubuagan. [07.p.01] Kalinga territory is endowed with the abundance of metallic and non-metallic

natural resources. Gold, copper, zinc, silver and coal are the known mineral reserves in the area. [14.p.07]

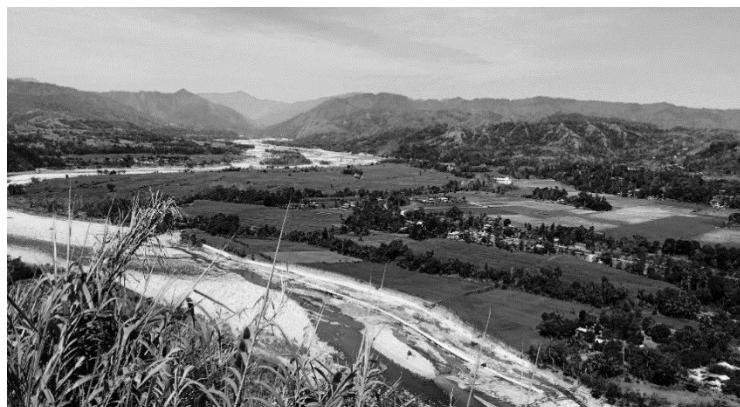


Fig 2. Mountainous Terrain of Kalinga

Historical records reveals that in the dim past Kalingas of yesterday had settled on the shores and the lowlands. Latter driven from their lowland abodes by more powerful ethnic groups, they trekked into the central portion of the Cordillera Mountain ranges in search of a homeland where they desired to live in peace and establish viable communities of their own. [14.p.153] The folklores and legends mention names of places in the surrounding lowland regions from where, most probably, the Kalingas of long past have migrated into the heart of the Grand Cordilleras. They too mention names of places, now uninhabited, in the mountain bordering the lowlands and thus in a hazy manner reflect the migratory movements of the original Kalinga home seekers definitely being driven from their lowland abodes by superior ethnic groups-superior in terms of number and technology. [14.p.240]

In their struggle for survival over harsh realities in an unexplored environment, they initially resorted to slash and burn-farming (the kaingin system) for raising the basic staple food (rice) and other crops, which up to the present still remains a consistent occupational activities, especially in the interior communities. This method of farming necessitated shifting from place to place after interval of few years. As years passed by, the Kalinga settlers endeavored cooperatively to build rice terraces and construct irrigation ditches which weathered the tests of time and still exist today as the living monuments of the engineering skill of the Kalingas of bygone years.



Fig 3. Rice Terrace, Kalinga Province

It was only when rice terraces were built on the narrow strips of flat lands along the winding rivers and creek of inland plateaus and irrigable hillsides that permanent villages were established and an unhealthy and insecure semi-nomadic life ended. [14.p.153]

The Calumny of Headhunting

The name ‘Kalinga’ in Philippines has been characterised by the meaning ‘enemy’ and ‘head-hunters’. From the days of Spanish occupation, Kalinga is considered neither a race nor a tribe name, but a word meaning “enemy” or “outlaw”. These people were branded as great head-hunters that still continue in the minds of many including the people of other islands of Philippines. In fact the brochure of Kalinga Province Tourism Department writes: “The name ‘Kalinga’ is believed to be derived from the Ibanag and Gaddang dialects – Kalinga means enemy, outlaw, fighter or headhunter. However, there is no geographic or ethnic basis to this ascription on Kalinga.” The inhabitants of Cagayan and Isabela considered the Kalinga as enemies since they conducted head-taking attacks on Ibanag and Gaddang territories. As such, the name is considered a misnomer yet the term has become the official ethnic name. [07.p.01]

Such irrelevant aspersionhas been refuted by Mr. Miguel Sugguiyao, 1990, the first native of Kalinga to put into writing the original life-ways of a people with whom he has lived for more than seventy years. According to Sugguiyao, “The Kalingas fought for their

liberty against Spanish aggressions for 370 years during which their brothers in the lowlands were made subjects of Spain. The first Spanish attempt at colonising the Kalinga land took place between 1663 and 1664 CE. The second was between 1783 and 1786 CE. Both of these attempts failed to take roots because the tenacious Kalinga warriors bore viciously on the Spaniards and drove them away to Cagayan Valley. [14.p.207] They fought against the Spanish invasions of their mountain abodes, using every means at their disposal. Their tenacious resistance against a foreign domination was not mere accident of history. It was a resistance deliberately, consciously and cooperatively undertaken continuously for three hundred seventy years.' [14.p.202]

Mr. Suguiya further elucidates that 'The colonisers occupied vast tracts of land and imposed forced labor, tributes and heavy taxes, mostly collected in kinds; which displaced the people from their ancestral communities. Many of them were sold to slavery because they could not cope with their obligations unlawfully imposed upon them by the greedy adventurers of fortune. In disgust, many of the lowland Filipinos escaped with their families to the mountains. From these new immigrants into the mountain and from their trade contacts with lowland inhabitants, the Kalingas learnt of the atrocities committed by the Spanish authorities against the welfare and freedom of their brothers and sisters in the lowlands.' To prevent the Spaniards from invading the mountain communities, the Kalingas conceived of instilling fear in the hearts of the white rulers. To punish their lowland brothers for their cowardly submission to the Spanish conquistadores, Kalinga warriors plundered the western portion of Cagayan and Isabela and the eastern borders of Abra. In their lightning raids, Spaniards assigned to military outpost in the border areas, were killed and decapitated. This was the usual means of instilling fear in the minds of Spanish authorities who were expected to send war expeditions against the inhabitants of the interior communities. The Spanish authorities on the other hand, considered the armed resistance of the mountain folks as the natural instinct of uncivilised headhunters and savages who want to take heads of human beings to offer their gods and goddesses. [14.p.204-207]

Some history books mentioned the resistance of the Kalingas and other mountain ethnic groups as an accident of geography. But Mr. Suguiya observes that 'The armed resistance was rather a fact

of self-determined reality never mentioned in any of the books of Philippine History. This self-determined fact of history emanated from the common desire for liberty and self-conservation. It was a deliberate and conscious struggle for freedom and preservation of the dignity of the human person that was not to be reduced to a state of slavery. Bitterly opposed to a foreign domination, the armed resistance in the Cordilleras was never a natural instinct of savages. It was preconceived struggle for justice and fair play inherently interwoven in the ethical, moral and social values of the mountain people who desired nothing above their cherished freedom in their mountain abodes.' [14.p.207]

Mr. Sugguiyao recalls his student days in Baguio and Manila, where he and other students from the mountains were looked down upon and spoken of as inferior Philippines who hailed from backward and ignorant Igorot parents who are savages and headhunters as explicitly enunciated in the books of Philippine History. But never a mention was made about the resistance of the mountain folks to foreign aggressions, which have been consistently repulsed by the spears, shields, head-axes and bamboo lances. [14.p.210]

The Kalinga People, Sober and Gentle

The unreasonable and inappropriate label of "Outlaw and Head hunter" assigned to Kalinga invariably creates an undesirable and awful impression in the minds of outsiders for the people of Kalinga Province. Even people in Manila who have not visited Kalinga province are apprehensive of the Kalingas because of such titles. During our visit to Philippines in March 2019, our tour operator was hesitant to accompany us to Kalinga. With lots of persuasion one guide escorted by two musclemen (one of them can speak Kalinga language) went with us in a separate vehicle. Such is the adverse impact of an ascribed irrelevant appellation.

In reality the people of Kalinga are not only gentle but sociable and place a high value on hospitality. As far back as in 1865 CE, John Crawfurd, British Resident at the Court of The Sultan of Java, writes that 'Kalingas are one of the many tribes of the island of Luzon inhabiting a range of mountains lying between the rivers Apayo and Tajo within the province of Cagayan. They, a brown-complexioned people, with lank hair, are among the most numerous and advanced

of the wild tribes of the Philippines, cultivating rice and raising fine tobacco. They are of a peaceful and docile character. [139.p.80]



Fig 4. Kalinga Children, Sweet and Smiling

Cornelis De Witt Willcox, the author of the book '*From Ifugao to Kalinga: A Ride through the Mountains of Northern Luzon*' visited Lubuagan, the then capital of the Kalinga, on 11 May, 1910, with a team accompanying the Secretary of the Interior of the Philippine Islands on his annual tour of inspection through the Mountain Province of Northern Luzon, including Kalinga. [08.p.11] There he observed that the countryside generally wearing an air of peace and affluence. The houses were larger, cleaner, better built; in short, substantial. No weapons whatever were visible, and the women and children moved about freely without a trace of shyness or fear. [08.p.214]

For Kalinga people, killing a stranger in the village where he has been given food to eat or water to drink is considered terribly immoral. They believe that punishment for such heinous act will be inflicted by the Almighty in this life or to the descendants in future life. The people are very religious in nature and have deep seated conviction that there is an almighty (*Kaboniyan*) who is the creator of all beings and things and the master of life and death. According to their faith, following acts are treated as unethical and punishable by the Almighty: [14.p.82-83]

1. Stealing animals such as pigs, carabaos, or dog.
2. Acquiring materials surreptitiously or by cheating.
3. Inciting a person against another when there exists a petty misunderstanding between the two.

4. Directly assisting or guiding a person to injure or kill another person.
5. The act of putting secretly a poisonous substance in the food or drink of a person in order to take away his life.
6. Being maliciously envious of other people including wishing them evils so that they will fail in their ventures towards prosperity.
7. Discourtesy to parents and elders by hurting the feeling and neglecting to take care of them in their old age.

During our interaction with the people both in the towns and hillside villages, we found them very cordial and compassionate. They were not only brave and courageous, but at the same time liberal, generous, kind and affable.



Fig 5. With the Mayor of Tanudan, Kalinga (Standing left)

They were highly industrious and capable of hard labour. They were fond of study and respectful to the elders. They were proud of their culture, ancestry and legacy. Their manners and dealings over few days completely transformed our Guide and he collected lots of information from the provincial Tourism office for conducting future trips.



Fig 6. Our Team with the Tourism Officials, Tabuk, March 2019

As enumerated by Mr. Miguel Suguiyao, 1990, the social values and ethical behaviors, of Kalinga people include the following: [14.p.84-85]

1. Kindness to other People
2. Lending a Helping Hand to Those in Need
3. Protecting Strangers
4. Hospitality as a fountain of blessings
5. Respecting the Personal Belongings of Others
6. Generosity
7. Reverence to Parents and Elders
8. Strict adherence to taboos regarding social and economic activities

They love to participate in all community affairs and render services in certain particular incidents that happen in the lives of their neighbors. The right to leadership is not inherited but personally acquired, shared and democratically exercised in so far as it is practiced. [14.p.41]

Genesis of the Province name Kalinga

American colonisation began with the cession of the Philippines to the U.S. by Spain in 1898 and lasted for 48 years till Philippine got its independence in 1946. The Americans were subtler in their colonial subjugation and were able to pacify the mountain peoples by allowing them to practice their tribal life-ways and government.

In 1906, the American colonial government recognised seven “tribes” in the Cordillera, including the Kalinga. On March 4, 1907, a new sub-province “ITAWES” was created that included the whole of the present Kalinga province. The capital of this sub-province was at village Lubuagan. On the same date Walter F. Hale was appointed as Lieutenant Governor of the sub-province of Itawes.

Governor Hale sincerely tried to impress the Kalingas that his government is kind, just and fair - and that it will protect their lives and property instead of the revenue as was the case with the Spanish authorities. On the other hand many Kalingas who saw the loss of their freedom to decide the affairs of their communities, were still adamant to the new American boss. To gain the confidence of the people Mr. Hale had to compromise several of his procedural policies in favor of the customs, practices, traditions and values of the Kalingas. Instead of using armed men to secure his life, he utilised the Kalinga warriors as companions and guides into the remote places in the wilderness.[14.p.17-19]

In several open conferences with the *Pangats* (local leaders) the Lieutenant Governor Hale understood through interpreters that these village leaders did not agree to be called “ITAWES” because they knew very well of the ITAWES ethnic groups left by their ancestors all along the western borders of the Cagayan River. To give a new name to the sub-province, Governor Hale wanted a nomenclature appropriate to the habitual character of the inhabitants, constantly invading opponent villages here and there. He inquired what the invasion of one village by another was called. He was told it is called “KAYAO”. While he was still thinking to adopt “KAYAO” as the name of this sub-province, he soon learned that in the ballad of “BANNA AND LAGGUNAWA”, a metrical romance replete with sublime and supernatural exploits of “BANNA” and sung overnight for the enjoyment of listening crowds, the word “KALLINGA” is intricately interwoven. [14.p.24]

The American governor preferred the term “KALLINGA” to “KAYAO” to rename the sub-province. Inadvertently, however, he dropped one “L” and disregarded the ‘n’. Immediately, thereafter Governor Hale was called to Bontoc for the visit of Governor General Cameron Forbes. In conference with the Governor General and the member of the Provincial Board, Hale proposed to change the name “ITAWES” to “KALINGA”. To this effect the resolution was adopted and approved by the Governor General. Returning to

Lubuagan on December 17, 1907, he sent out couriers to nearly all the villages urging all the *Pangats* to come to Lubuagan for the first Christmas festivity. So in the evening of December 24th before two hundred one *Pangats* and their ladies, Lieutenant Governor Hale announced that the new name of the sub-province has been called “Kalinga” and not Itawes. Henceforth the sub-province was Kalinga and the inhabitants thereof as Kalingas notwithstanding the apparent variability in their ancestral origins. [14.p.25]

The province name **Kalinga has thus originated from the legendary epic of “Banna and Laggunawa**, otherwise known as the ULLALIM that narrates the stories about the traditional heroes. The legend has been passed down from generations to generations for hundreds of years. It is one of the most authentic witnesses to the customs and the traditions of the people of the distant past.

Kalinga literature consists of riddles, legends, chanted or sung myths, and epics or ballads. [07.p.15] These epics are not written, but are passed down from generation to generation by word of mouth. Around the fires at night, or on ceremonial occasions, the old men, or persons famed as storytellers, relate tales of Gods and heroes that come from ancient times. A favorite kind is one with a moral, designed to make people obey the customs or keep them contented with their lot. [88.p.104] Such oral literatures include all kinds of traditional knowledge of the natives and deliver some very important ingredient for history.

Indianisation of Pre-Spanish Philippines

The name ‘Philippines’ for the island nation has originated from the Spanish imperialism. In 1543 CE the Spanish explorer Ruy Lopez de Villalobos proposed this name in honour of the crown prince Philip, later Philip II, the king of Spain from 1556 CE. It is not known, as yet, what was the earlier name of these groups of islands now known as the Philippines. Changing the name of a nation by a coloniser is an expression of their imposing dominance. The original name of a nation reflects its history, tradition and culture. It instils pride in the hearts of its people. Change of name by an invading occupier demolishes the history, tradition and the emotional significance attached to the sound while uttering that name.

The recorded history of Philippines begins with the diary notes of Antonio Pigafetta, companion of Captain Ferdinand Magellan, the first explorer to reach one of the islands of this country on the 25th

March, 1521. The ill-fate of Magellan for his adventurous evangelisation and flight of Pigafetta is well known to the world.

Spanish colonisation of the Philippine Islands continued up to 1898 CE. During this period of more than three and half centuries, there has been very little effort either to document or to explore the early history of the country. Rather researchers have opined that there has been systematic destruction of old literature, idols and artefacts by the Spaniards. Malcolm H. Churchill, 1977, reports that "The Spaniards destroyed hundreds of "idols" in converting the Philippines to Christianity, and for many decades after the country was nominally Christian, Spanish priests were still ferreting out idols hidden away by secret practitioners of the old religion [10.p.40] As reported by historian Ambeth R. Ocampo, 2012, the archaeological sites were looted in the mad rush for antiquities before documentation could be made. [18.p.74] According to Otley Beyer "one Spanish priest in southern Luzon boasted of having destroyed more than three hundred scrolls written in the native character." [10.p.33]

As elaborated by Dhirendra Nath Roy, 1929, "The Spaniards knew that without diverting the thoughts of the Filipinos from their past it would be impossible to keep their permanent hold upon them inasmuch as their past would constantly remind them of their own distinct individuality and keep them indifferent toward Spain. So the ancient history of the people was deliberately thrown into a mist and the things that lingered in their deep-rooted habits were at a progressive discount as the process of Hispanisation was going on. [01.p.61]

In spite of such obliteration of historical sources, some researchers through their diligent determination have dugout evidences of a glorious past of the inhabitants of these Islands. They indicate that like Indonesia, Cambodia and Vietnam, these people had a long history of their own from the early centuries.

Indisputably the Filipino natives were great seafarers from ancient period. Inhabiting the islands, the surrounding water provided them not only connectivity but also livelihood. They sailed through the trade routes, connected with the neighbouring island nations and took part in the Southeast Asian trade network. They were not in isolation to the developments in Southeast Asia during the early centuries of the Current Era. Their western neighbour Vietnam had a long history of international trade link, where the

famous Indianised kingdom named Champa was established as early as in third century CE.

Kenneth R. Hall, 2011, the author of '*A History of Early Southeast Asia: Maritime Trade and Societal Development, 100-1500*'; reports that when 'Magellan's world voyage anchored at Cebu, the Spanish encountered a population of almost two thousand (Nowell: 1962, 160) and an extensive entreport trade based on the exchange of Chinese articles for Southeast Asian products.' [24.p.319] According to him 'The Sulu Sea region comprised the fourth commercial zone. In this region the western coasts of Luzon, Mindoro, Cebu, and Mindanao, along with the Brunei region of Borneo's north coast, all served to varying degrees as facilitators of trade between China and the Spice Islands to the south and east. These Spice Islands were the source of nutmeg, mace, cloves, sandalwood, and other more exotic commodities, such as parrots and birds of paradise, all of which flowed through the Sulu Sea to China and Thailand in the north, as well as to the central Vietnam coastline, Java, and Melaka in the west. [24.p.332]

Being an active participant of Southeast Asia trade network, Philippines also received the stimulus and elements of Indianisation around the same period like Funan, Vietnam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Thailand and others. Many distinguished scholars have investigated into the nature and extent of Indian elements in early Philippines society. The views of some of them are mentioned below:

Dr. Alfred Louis Kroeber (June 11, 1876 – October 5, 1960), ex-Professor of Anthropology, University of California, in his book '*Peoples of the Philippines*', 1919, states:

'That prior to arrival of Islam around 1380 CE and Christianity with Spanish occupation in 1571 CE, the Philippine culture and civilisation was infused with a set of influences, emanating from India. These influences did import a mass of religious ideas, practices, and names, a considerable body of Sanskrit words, a system of writing, the art of metal working, a vast body of mechanical and industrial knowledge, and unquestionably a much greater degree of cultivation and refinement than had existed previously.'[05.p.10]

'The Indian influence, perhaps because it was older and continued longer, was much more pervasive than the Mohammedan one. It was most profound, of course, along the coast and in the lowlands, but penetrated even to the mountainous interior of the larger islands. There is no tribe in the Philippines, no matter how primitive and remote, in whose culture of today elements of Indian origin cannot be traced.' [05.p.11]

Dhirendra Nath Roy, 1929, in his book '*The Philippines and India*' writes:

'Indeed, the wholesome contact between the ancient Hindus and Filipinos through extensive commerce, and the subsequent settlement of many Hindus from Indo-China and the neighbouring islands along with the natives had brought the succeeding generations of the Island's into more intimate relationships with the men and things of India. The obstructions thrown by the Mohammedans and then by the Spaniards caused a gradual forgetfulness in both countries, about their cultural as well as blood relationships and these several centuries of separation have made the two unfortunate countries almost strangers to each other. [01.p.31]

He further elaborates that 'With the exception of recent European culture the Indian influences are on the whole the most profound that have affected Philippine civilisation. There is no tribe in the Philippines, no matter how primitive and remote, in whose culture of today elements of Indian origin cannot be traced. This cultural affinity of the Islands with India is now becoming a popular fact as the Filipinos are growing to realise their comparative relation with the East and the West.' [01.p.43]

Diosdado R. Asuncion, in his article '*Indian Elements in Philippine Culture*' published in East-West Center Review, Volume One, Number One, June 1964, wrote:

'The truth of the matter is that Philippine political, religious, economic, and social life contains many elements of Indian culture. Prof H Otley Beyer expressed it in this manner: 'With the exception of the recent European culture the Indian influences are on the whole the most profound that have affected Philippine civilisation (Zaide 1937 14). However many people continue to believe that only Spaniards and Americans had much to do with the present culture.' [87.p.07]

Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera, a Filipino physician, historian and politician who served as Deputy Prime Minister of the Philippines in 1899, was also a distinguished scholar writing on different aspects of Philippine culture. His articles '*Contribución para el estudio de los antiguos alfabetos Filipinos*' (Contribution to the study of ancient Filipino alphabet) in 1884 and '*El sánscrito en la lenguatagala*' in 1887; were lauded by overseas research journals such as the '*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*' and '*Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*'. The '*El sánscrito en la lenguatagala*' investigates the etymology and influence of the Sanskrit family of languages to Filipino grammar and orthography. In this article Dr. Tavera had convincingly endorsed the Indianisation of Philippines. As cited by D. N. Roy, 1929; Dr. Tavera observed:

"It is impossible to believe that the Hindus, if they came only as merchants, however great their number, would have impressed themselves in such a way as to give to these islanders the number and the kind of words which they did give. These names of dignitaries, of caciques, of high functionaries of the court, of noble ladies, indicate that all of these high positions with names of Sanskrit origin were occupied at one time by men who spoke that language. The words of a similar origin for objects of war, fortresses, and battle-songs, for designating objects of religious belief, for superstitions, emotions, feelings, industrial and farming activities, show us clearly that the warfare, religion, literature, industry, and agriculture were at one time in the hands of the Hindus, and that this race was effectively dominant in the Philippines." [01.p.38]

Scholars those have undertaken research on Filipino language have come across a substantial proportion of Sanskrit loanwords. According to Dr. Tavera, "The words which Tagalog borrowed, are those which signify intellectual acts, moral conceptions, emotions, superstitions, names of deities, of planets, of numerals of high number, of botany, of war and its results and consequences, and finally of titles and dignities, some animals, instruments of industry, and the names of money." From the evidence of these words, he argues that "for a period in the early history of the Filipinos Hindus were in political and social domination. They dominated different parts of the archipelago, where to-day are spoken the most cultured languages, the Tagalog, the Visayan, the Pampanga, and the Ilocano; and that the higher culture of these languages comes precisely from the influence of the Hindu race over the Filipino." [06.p. 92]

Dr. Saleeby, a member of the Philippine Academy, has made a special study of the non-Christian Filipinos and holds a theory showing that the Filipinos were originally immigrants from India. Analysing the worship pattern of the hill-tribes of Luzon and Mindanao, he infers that 'the relation which the Filipinos hold to the Hindus is very much older and goes back into the period of worship of the Vedic Gods in India'. He clarifies that 'if we strip the hill-tribes of this phase of their worship and if we strip their dialects of the Sanskrit element, we leave them nothing that would be commensurate with their arts and culture..... All of which goes to show that these deities constituted the indigenous worship of these tribes and that the original home of these tribes was somewhere in the continent of India, where such worship was indigenous.' [01.p.40]

Antonio Pigafetta records that the expedition led by Captain Ferdinand Magellan landed near the south end of Leyte (a province in central Philippines) on the 25th March, 1521. There in a village

named Limasaua they met two kings whose names were Raja Calambu and Raja Ciagu. These two kings were visiting Limasaua and had their residences one at Butuan and one at Cagayan on the island of Mindanao. [06.p.79] The title of Raja is a clear indication of the early Indian influence in Philippine political structure. The Indians might not have established an imperial domain like Champa of Vietnam or Kambuja of Cambodia; but had organised small kingdoms depending on the strength of population of each tribe that arrived in this Island nation.

Laguna Copperplate Inscription

The most important epigraphic source that brought to light the early history of Philippines Island is a ten-line copperplate inscription procured by sand dredgers in 1987 near the mouth of the Lumbang River along Laguna de Bay in the Province of Laguna. No such document was found in the Philippines before or even if obtained has not been made public. The inscription has revealed the pre-Spanish and pre- Mohammedan culture, civilisation and literacy of the country. It has been considered to be a national cultural treasure and has been preserved in the National Museum, Manila.



Fig 7. Laguna Copperplate Inscription in the National Museum of the Philippines. [18.p.53]

This copper plate was purchased by the National Museum, Manila in 1990 and the mysterious text deciphered by Antoon Postma, in consultation with Johan de Casparis who noted that the language was technically Sanskrit, with some words in Old Javanese, but mainly in Old Malay that is related to Old Tagalog. Postma

named this the “Laguna Copper Plate Inscription” or “LCI”. [18.p.52]

Antoon Postma (28 March 1929 – 22 October 2016) was a Dutch anthropologist who married and lived in south-eastern Mindoro, Philippines. Subsequent investigations by Postma along the Lumbang River indicate that the copperplate was indeed retrieved from that river around 1987. After the effort to sell it to antique dealers failed, it was offered for sale to the National Museum in Manila. He further informs that certain persons, after viewing a photo-picture of the LCI, alleged, without being asked, that they had seen a similar piece of copperplate with inscriptions around the same time (1987). Its importance, however, was not realised then, and the possible second page of the LCI might have ended up in a local junk yard and been irretrievably lost to posterity. [83.p.185]

According to Postma ‘this inscription is supplied with a date so accurate that the exact moment of issuance can still be determined centuries afterwards, thanks to an elaborate system of astronomical calculations, which were usually mentioned at the beginning of an inscription. The LCI bears the Saka date of 822, or 900 CE. It provides sufficient evidence for scholarly investigation and study. [83.p.185]

Regarding the script of LCI, Dr. de Casparis, an expert in Indonesian paleography, observes that this type of script can be found from Bali (Indonesia) in the East, to Thailand and Champa (Central Vietnam) in the West, since the scripts of these areas were not yet differentiated from each other during that period. [83.p.184]

The contents of LCI seems to be a semi-official certificate of acquittal of a debt incurred by a person in high office, together with his whole family, all relatives and descendants. The debt mentioned involved a substantial amount in gold that apparently was still unpaid. The acquittal is confirmed by other leaders and officials, some of whom are mentioned by name, as well as the place of their jurisdiction. [83.p.184]

The transcription and translation of the Laguna Copper-Plate Inscription as made by Antoon Postma is detailed below:

Transcription of LCI

1. swasti Saka warsatita 822 waiskha masa ding jyotisa caturthi
krsnapaksa so-

2. mawarasanatatkaladayangankatanlawandnannasanakbarnarans
ibukah
3. anakda dang hwannamwrandibariwaradanawisuddhapatraulih
sang pamgatsenapati di tundu-
4. nbarja dang hwannayakatuhanpailahjayadewa, dikrama dang
hwannamwrandnan dang kaya-
5. sthasuddhanudiparlappashutangdawalandaki 1 su 8 dihadapan
dang hwannayakatuhanpu-
6. lirankasumuran dang hwannayakatuhanpailahbarjadiganasakti.
danghwannayakatu-
7. hanbinwananbarjadibisrutatathapisdanyasanakkaparawisulih
sang pamgat de-
8. watabarjadi sang pamgatmdangdaribhaktindadiparhulon sang
pamgat. yamakanasadanaanak
9. cucu dang hwannamwransuddhayakaparawisdiutangda dang
hwannamwran di sang pamgatdewatainigrang
10. syatsyapantahapascat ding arikamudyanadagrangurang
barujarawlunglappashutangda dang hwa... [83.p.186]

Translation of LCI

(1) Hail! In the Saka-year 822; the month of March-April (waiskha); according to the astronomer: the fourth day of the dark half of the moon; on (2) Monday. At that time, Lady Angkatan together with her relative, Bukah by name, (3) the child of His Honor Namwran, was given, as a special favour, a document of full acquittal, by the Chief and Commander of Tundun (4) representing the Leader of Pailah, Jayadewa. This means that His Honor Namwran, through the Honorable Scribe (5) was totally cleared of a salary-related debt of 1 *kati* and 8 *suwarna* (weight of gold): in the presence of His Honor the Leader of Puliran, (6) Kasumuran; His Honor the Leader of Pailah, representing Ganasakti; (and) His Honor the Leader (7) of Binwangan, representing Bisruta. And, with his whole family, on orders of the Chief of Dewata (8), representing the Chief of Mdang, because of his loyalty as a subject (slave?) of the Chief, therefore all the descendants (9) of his Honor Namwran have been cleared of the whole debt that His Honor owed the Chief of Dewata. This (document) is (issued) in case (10) there is someone, whosoever, sometime in the future, who will state that the debt is not yet acquitted of His Honor.. . [83.p.187]

An analysis of Sanskrit words in the inscription and its Odia and English equivalent is furnished as under:

Line No.	Sanskrit words in LCI	Odia Equivalent	English Equivalent
1	Swasti	Svasti	Hail
1	Saka	Saka	Historical Era
1	Warsa	Varsa or Barsa	Year
	Waisakha	Vaisakha	A Lunar month in March-April
1	Masa	Masa	Month
1	Jyotisa	Jyotisa	Astronomy
1	Caturthi	Chaturthi	4th day of Lunar month
1	Krsnapaksa	Krsnapaksa	Dark fortnight of lunar month
1 & 2	Somawara	Soma bara	Monday
2	Tatkala	Tatkala	At that time
3	Waradana	Baradana	Special favour
3	Suddhapatra	Suddhapatra	Clean Utensil
3	Senapati	Senapati	Commander in Chief
4	Nayaka	Nayaka	Leader
4	Jayadewa	Jayadeva	Name of a person
4 & 5	Kayastha	Kayastha	A class of employee in ancient India
7	Visruta	Bisruta	person name
7	Tathapi	Tathapi	Even though
7 & 8	Dewata	Debata	Surname
10	Pashchat	Pashchat or Pachhare	Afterwards

The Laguna Copperplate Inscription, besides the Sanskrit words, used the Saka calendar year, the Lunar month and week days as practiced in India. It also shows the use of mathematics, a standard system of weights and measures and familiarity with Indian astronomy. It provides astounding evidence of an Indian-origin writing system and literacy of the ninth century or even earlier in Philippines or whatever name the country was known then. All these evidences support the indianisation of some parts of this Island nation in early centuries like other nations of Southeast Asia.

Besides, the Laguna Copperplate Inscription, very few archaeological records and artefacts have been discovered in the Philippines so far. One such Indian styled religious statuary is the Golden Image of Agusan. In 1917 CE, a splendid gold image was discovered in a ravine on the left bank of the Wawa River in Agusan Province, Mindanao, after a storm and flood. A female figure seated cross-legged; the statue is made of 21 carat gold. It measures five and

half inches tall and weighs close to four pounds. It has a richly ornamented head-dress and many ornaments in the arms and other parts of the body. It is now on display in the Gold Room of the Chicago Museum of Natural History. [92.p.31]



Fig 8. Golden Image of Agusan

The figure has been identified as a female deity of the Mahayana Buddhism by U Bo Kay (Conservator, Archaeological Directorate, Yangon (formerly Rangoon) in Myanmar and R. J. Thapa (Director of Archaeology, Kathmandu, Nepal). Corollary to this confirmation, P. R. Srinivasan (Assistant Superintendent of Epigraphy, Archaeological Survey of India, Ootacamund) identifies it as that of a Tara of probably late Medieval period. Some people call such images of female deities as female Bodhisattvas. [92.p.36]

The Agusan gold image is an important landmark in Philippine prehistory, one of the rare artefacts that shows an ancient Indian influence in the archipelago. The image suggests contact between the pre-Spanish Philippines and Buddhism, Hinduism, and the great traditions of Asia. [18.p.90-91]

Churchill, Malcolm H. (1977), in his article '*Indian Penetration of Pre-Spanish Philippines: A New Look at the Evidence*' published in *Asian Studies* has reported some other images and articles of Indian religious statuary found in Philippines. Those are:

1. Buddhist Clay Image from Calatagan, Batangas: This is a clay medallion discovered during an archaeological excavation in 1961. It is locally made, 6.6 cm high and 4.8 cm wide, with a low relief image of the Mahayana Buddhist Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara. The site dates from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth centuries.

2. Mactan Avalokitesvara Icon: Excavated about 1921CE by Professor Beyer from a site in Mactan, the image is known only from a photograph. The statue is bronze and may be a Saiva-Buddhist blending rather than being purely Buddhist.
3. Mactan Ganesha: This is a crude copper Ganesha excavated about 1921 CE from the same Mactan site as number 2 above. It is known only from a photograph. Because of the crude workmanship, it is undoubtedly locally made.
4. Bronze Lokesvara: This was found in Island Putting Bato, Tondo, Manila. *Lokesvara*, Lord of the World, is the Southeast Asian name for Avalokitesvara.
5. Puerto Galera Ganesha: This is pictured, without additional explanation, in Patanne's book.
6. Bronze Ornament of Indian Design from Rizal: This is pictured, without additional explanation, in Patanne's book.
7. Golden Garuda Pendant from Brooke's Point, Palawan. This was a family heirloom, purchased from a family in Brookes Point and now at the National Museum of the Philippines.
8. Gold Ornaments of the Arturo de Santos Collection: According to Robert Fox, the gold ornaments in the collection are thought to be largely of local manufacture or traded in from Indonesia, for Indian design elements are readily apparent in most items.
9. Miscellaneous: Beyer stated that there were minor finds of coins, pottery, etc. with the Mactan images which were relics from the days of Majapahit. Fox stated in passing in an article in which the Agusan image was discussed that there were other bronze images of the same period recovered in Davao; *lingas* were found in Pinagbayanan, and there are the possible *linga* and *yoni* from Magsingal, Ilocos Sur. There reportedly are recent excavations on the eastern shores of Laguna de Bay which have allegedly revealed evidence of cremations. [10.p.41]

In view of the systematic Spanish destruction of idols worshipped in earlier religious practices by the natives of Philippines, only few such artefacts could be traced. But these artefacts, particularly when some were crafted locally, can be considered a representative of the practice of Indian religion in the Indianised kingdoms of Philippines.

Custom and Rituals of Kalinga Tribes

Presently the majority of Kalinga people are adherents of the Christian faith. Over the years a good deal of the Kalinga customs, beliefs, values and practices have been wholly or partially obliterated. Influences of rising literacy through formal school education, rapid technological changes and Christian evangelisation have greatly altered the spiritual and social outlook of the people. The changes in the total Philippine environment have also generated changes in the traditional family patterns among the mountain communities. However some of the deep rooted traditional customs still subsist in the rural community. The notable ones are listed below:

Personality Cult:

Industry and hard work are main traits that are given high value in Kalinga culture. Loss of face is an extremely powerful negative sanction in the traditional society.[11.p.47]

Pre-Christian Religious Faith:

They believed in one Supreme Being, the Great **Kaboniyan**, the creator of all things and the master of life and death. He commands all his subordinate deities to affect the universal order and decide the destinies of men. [14.p.187]

Spirit and Medium:

The misfortunes such as disease, crop failure, death, and all other adversities are attributed primarily to the intrigues of spirits. These spirits may be those of deceased individuals, particularly those of close relatives, or they may be any of a host of malevolent spirits. Spirits are known as **anitos**, a designation used virtually by all mountain peoples and many Filipino lowland peoples as well. [11.p.55]

To ward-off the evil spirits people take the help of a professional **medium**, who is possessed by her spirit helpers. In a dazed or partly unconscious state, he/she goes into the spirit world to communicate with the spirit and try to answer the demands and questions of those who have come to attend the ritual. In most of these rites a chicken is sacrificed, but for the major ones, for example, those involving serious illnesses and funeral rites, the sacrificial victim, is a pig or pigs. [11.p.60-61]

A small whirlwind that moves leaves and grass flying in a spiral is also considered as the appearance of spirit. [08.p.71]

Marriage and Bride Service:

In all Kalinga areas marriage to kin is strictly forbidden through first cousins. [11.p.23] In some parts, once the bride is selected, the boy goes to live in the girl's home, and performs services such as hauling fuel, working in the fields, and such other duties as may be required of him. This custom, a form of bride service, is called *magngotogaw*. [11.p.43] In Kalinga, during marriage, the parents of the boy and their relatives go in group to the house of the girl's parents and give their presents to her parents. It is called "Palanga" formality. [14.p.149]

Household Tasks:

Characteristically in a Kalinga home, one sees men and boys sitting or lounging around while women and girls are busy with household tasks. Except for house building and house repair, men do not have as much to do around the house as women. In between planting and harvesting the family man goes to hunt, fish, gather rattan and carry firewood which he likes to store in large quantities for the rainy days. The women folk, besides assisting their men folks with the activities in the rice paddies, do all household chores. She pounds and winnows the rice, fetch water, collect fuel for cooking for the family and feed the pigs. She takes care of cleaning the dwelling and its surrounding. [14.p.137]

Hospitality:

Kalinga culture places high value on hospitality, the girls are taught from early childhood to be gracious hosts to visitors. [11.p.47]

Funeral Rites:

When an individual dies, the rituals prescribed for the funeral has to be carefully observed to ensure that his soul or spirit is properly dispatched to the after-world. Mourning and food restrictions are strictly observed, in all areas of Kalinga, by the closely related kin of the deceased. [11.p.53]

Dancing:

The Kalinga have always been a dancing people. *Tadokor tacheck* is the Kalinga word for dance. The *tadok* is mainly performed in a marriage ceremony. Sometimes it is referred to as a courtship dance, where a line of men and a line of women dance to the beating of the gongs. The *pattongsalip* is a festival dance in which men and women dance in two circular formations, the women staying in the inner circle. [07.p.09]

Chewing of Areca Nuts:

When receiving guests the natives usually offer them with betels and areca-nuts as a routine respect. The leaves of *Piper betle*, coated with lime is used to coil round the areca-nut, the whole forming the *buyo* (betel), which the natives are in the habit of chewing. This practice is also observed in other parts of Southeast Asia, particularly in Java and Bali. [101.p.192]

Brewing Rice for Drinks

The natives prepare a drink by the fermentation of rice. The ceremonious occasions are celebrated by feast, dancing and much drinking of the home made brew.

Community Leadership:

A leader in the Kalinga community is called “*PANGAT*”. The right to leadership is not inherited but personally acquired, shared and democratically exercised in so far as it is practiced. Essentially therefore, from the dim past up to the present, the Kalinga society is democratic in character. [14.p.40]

The Kalinga legal system is based on Kalinga custom law, a body of regulations verbally transmitted from generation to generation. The *Pangat* have extensive knowledge of these laws and pass judgments according to precedents. The complexity of Kalinga custom law illustrates their legal mindedness. [07.p.07]

Handloom Textiles

The Kalinga are famous for their traditional hand-woven textiles. They produce a variety of items such as skirts, loincloths, headbands, blouses, blankets, underskirts, pouches and bags. Their loom is unique for one end of it is suspended, while the other is frequently

attached around the weaver's waist. As might be expected from such a habit, the bolt of cloth was often of some length, but rather narrow.



Fig 9. Hand-Loom in Lubuagan, Kalinga

Kalinga weaves are characterised by the traditional colour combinations of red and black stripes and the use of beads. Many traditional Kalinga weaving designs and patterns remain unchanged through generations, with weavers taking care not to make alterations since the colours and details have specific meanings. They practice *ikat*-dyeing (tie and dye) method. Bundles of threads are wrapped tightly in desired pattern and then immersed in colour. The wrapped portions preserve the natural colour, the intervening spaces taking the dye. The bindings may then be altered to create a new pattern and the yarns dyed again with another colour. The process is repeated for multi-colour patterns. After dyeing is completed the yarns are dried and woven in the loom.

Tie-dyeing is believed to have originated in India and spread to many Southeast Asian countries. Its introduction into the islands appears to be pre-Mohammedan; and, like so many other things in Filipino civilisation its original source is almost certainly to be looked

for on the mainland of Asia and therefore probably in India. [05.p.123]

Possible Migration from Kalinga of India

As discussed earlier, the province name “Kalinga” in Philippines was sourced from a legendary epic that narrates the tales of the traditional heroes. This legend of an unknown period has passed down from generations to generations. We have also seen that several Sanskrit words have enriched the Filipino language. The Laguna Copperplate Inscription of ninth century CE is a glaring example of use of Sanskrit words by the native population from the ancient period. Undoubtedly this island nation received the Indian language, religion and culture in the remote past. Prof. H Otley Beyer observes:

‘The Indian culture made itself felt most strongly in the political, social, religious and aesthetic life of Philippines. Economic influence seems to have been relatively less important except perhaps in metal-working and in the art of war though modes of dress and of personal ornamentation were also greatly affected. At the time of the Spanish discovery not only were the more civilised Filipinos using the Indian syllabary for writing, but their native mythology, folklore and written literature all had a distinct Indian cast. The same was true of their codes of laws and their names for all sorts of political positions and procedures. The most cultured Philippine languages contain many Sanskrit words and the native art a noticeable sprinkling of Indian design.’ [87.p.11]

All these facts and circumstances allure us to suggest that the word “Kalinga” that was intricately interwoven in the legendary ballad of ‘Banna and Lagunawa’ is a Sanskrit word and of Indian origin.

The ancient Kalinga in India had a large population of hill tribes, now inhabiting parts of Odisha, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh. They, in their sylvan isolation, are much conscious of their dignity and liberty. In ancient India they were known as ‘*Atavikas*’. For their effective combative flair, it was an *Arthashastra* practice to hire the *Atavikas* as scouts and army auxiliaries. During his Kalinga war in the third century BCE, Emperor Asoka did not invade the *Atavika* territory of Kalinga. Rather he offered a treaty impregnated with fierce threat for the forest dwellers. In his second Kalinga special edict at Jaugada Asoka states:

“If the unconquered peoples on my borders ask what is my will, they should be made to understand that this is my will with regard to them – ‘the king desires that they should have no trouble on his account, should trust in him, and should have in their dealings with him only happiness

and no sorrow. They should understand that the king will forgive them as far as they can be forgiven, and that through him they should follow Dhamma and gain this world and the next.” [72.p.386]

Perhaps, in the said statement of the Emperor, the forest dwellers of Kalinga sensed an intention of intrusion into their freedom, and choose to migrate in search of a new settlement. The only escape route being the high seas, some of them might have landed in the faraway island nation now named Philippines.

The history of the Philippines does not mention from where the Kalinga hill tribe came from. Researchers have opined that Kalingsas have initially settled in coastal lowland areas. Due to various reasons they have to shift from place to place and finally in the central Cordillera Mountain ranges they established viable communities of their own. [14.p.153] However, the folklores and legends do preserve some ideas of the history of their roots.

It is a well-known practice for migratory communities to name their new settlement after the name of their country or city of origin. The Indians who founded Indianised Kingdoms in Southeast Asia had imported celebrated place-names of their motherland into their new home. Thus we find the names of towns and countries called Ayodhya, Kaushambi, Sriksetra, Dvaravati, Champa, Kalinga, and Kambuja springing up hundreds of miles away from their namesakes. [33.p.xxiii]

The analysis of Panini shows conclusively that place-names do not originate by mere accident, but are the outcome of social and historical conditions with which a community is intimately connected. An etymological approach to the place-names of a country, therefore, introduces us to many a forgotten chapter of history and ethnography. [37.p.205]

From critical examination one can easily notice that the customs and rituals of the Kalinga tribes of Philippines are almost comparable with that of the hill-tribes of Odisha, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh. The people and hill-tribes of mainland Kalinga were also great warriors and that tradition is preserved till date in their Paika Akhadas, the warrior gymnasiums or warrior schools.

CHAPTER 6

Mahendra Parvata, the Ancient Capital of Cambodia

The country name ‘Cambodia’ has been derived from its earlier Sanskrit name ‘Kambuja’. As early as in 802 CE, King Jayavarman-II established the foundation of the present-day Cambodia, after unifying the small Indianised kingdoms and rival Khmer principalities. He named the independent empire as ‘Kambuja’ from his capital city at Mahendra Parvata. The natives, in their Khmer language, called the country as ‘Kampuchea’. During French protectorate the country was named Cambodge, a French transliteration of Kambuja. Later ‘Cambodge’ was anglicised to English name Cambodia.

Inscriptions of Kambuja period, which lasted up to the fifteenth century, tell that King Jayavarman-II declared himself the ‘*Chakravarti*; ‘universal monarch’ of Kambuja Empire on the summit of mount Mahendra. For nearly six hundred years from 802 to 1431 CE, Kambuja was ruled by a succession of Hindu/Buddhist dynasties. It was the mightiest kingdom in Southeast Asia, drawing visitors and tribute from as far away as present-day Burma and Malaysia as well as from what were later to be Thai kingdoms to the west. [46.p.42] The period also developed an advanced civilisation testified to by its legacy of magnificent works of art and of Sanskrit inscriptions of a high quality. [38.p.96]

The name of the early capital, Mahendra Parvata, though recorded in a number of inscriptions in both Sanskrit and Khmer language, has been changed. The hill is now called ‘Phnom Kulen’, in Khmer. The area that was the capital city is covered with dense forest and protected as part of the ‘Phnom Kulen National Park’. For long the vestiges of old capital have been concealed under vegetation and earth. However, archaeological investigation has uncovered tangible evidence of an extended urban network dating from the ninth century CE in Phnom Kulen plateau. Study conducted by Damian

Evans, a faculty member of the Department of Archaeology at the University of Sydney and Jean-Baptiste Chevance, an archaeologist, in 2012, has discovered the ruins of the lost city of Mahendra Parvata. Thirty previously unidentified temples were also discovered.



Fig 1. Mahendra Parvata (Phnom Kulen) of Cambodia

A scholarly article published in *Antiquity* Volume 93 - Issue 371 - October 2019, pp. 1303-1321, by a group of research scholars, namely Jean-Baptiste Chevance, Damian Evans, Nina Hofer, Sakada Sakhoeun and Ratha Chhean, enumerates substantial proof that Mahendra Parvata, now known as Phnom Kulen, was an early capital city of Cambodia. They undertook intensive survey and excavation programmes on Phnom Kulen in order to understand the spatial and chronological dimensions of Kambuja-period occupation. The development of archaeological maps was enhanced considerably by the application of airborne laser scanning (LIDAR) techniques in two separate campaigns: the first in 2012, by the Khmer Archaeology LIDAR Consortium, and another in 2015, by the Cambodian Archaeological LIDAR Initiative. The airborne laser scanning was deployed in order to exploit its unique ability to ‘see through’ vegetation and provide high-resolution models of the forest floor. [130.p.1305-07]

Analysis and interpretation of the LIDAR data has revealed thousands of features of archaeological interest, extending across an area of 40–50km. The evidence gathered by the group accords with the inscriptions to identify Mahendra Parvata, located on the Phnom Kulen massif, as the capital of Jayavarman-II. It was also a site of worship and pilgrimage throughout the Kambuja period. They

further clarify that ‘Mahendra Parvata was distinctly ‘urban’ in the conventional sense. The existence of a palace precinct, a network of thoroughfares and local shrines and neighbourhoods indicate that a royal court was located here and supported by a substantial population of specialised ritual, administrative and other staff drawn from a broader community inhabiting an extensive, well-defined, built-up area. [130.p.1316-18]

Jayavarman-II, the Mighty Emperor of Kambuja

The history of Cambodia upholds Jayavarman-II with great honour. He, a paramount monarch, is considered as the founding father of the country. He figures prominently in the annals of Kambuja and the posterity regarded him almost as a divine hero, a powerful conqueror and a mighty builder. For centuries, his name held conspicuous place in the genealogies of later kings and even now he is the hero of well-known Cambodian legends. [176.p.113]

The inscriptions and architectural remains from the first eight centuries of the current era fail to provide evidence of large-scale unified kingdoms on Cambodian soil. [46.p.30] Eighth century CE is described as the dark period in the history of Cambodia. There was neither unity nor solidarity and the country was divided into several small principalities. Historians opine that towards the close of the eighth century CE, the Sailendras of Java had extended their supremacy over the Cambodian territory. [79.p.73] It is Jayavarman-II, who in the beginning of the ninth century, unified the small kingdoms, rescued the territory from the yoke of Java and established the Kambuja Empire.

Epigraphic records of Cambodia are silent about the early life of Jayavarman-II. He ruled Kambuja up to 854 CE, followed by his son Jayavarman-III from 854 to 877 CE. Neither he nor his son had left any inscription regarding their family background. His name and fame is known from the inscriptions of his later successors, who with divine honour addressed him in the posthumous title “His Majesty Paramesvara”. Some inscriptions tell that he came from Java.

The earliest reference to Jayavarman-II occurs in the Prasat Kok Po Inscription dated 805 Saka (883 CE). Verse 4 of this inscription, reproduced below, records that king Jayavarman-II ascended the throne in 724 Saka (802 CE) and was like Manu. [32.p.70]

आसीन् भूपो महावंशो वेदयुगमाद्रिराज्यभाक् ।
नाशा श्रीजयवर्मा यः रुप्रातो भूमो मतुश्चेथा ॥४ [32.p.71]

Next reference to him comes from the ‘Phnom Sandak Stele inscription’ of king Yasovarman-I, dated 895 CE (817 Saka), almost forty years after his death. This Sanskrit inscription found in a ruined temple on the hillock of Phnom Sandak, about 15 miles to the north of Koh Ker, records an eulogy of king Jayavarman-II in verse 7 of part B. Verse 8 mentions that he rose like a fresh lotus from the great lotus stalk which had no connection with the soil, implying that this king does not belong to any of the local royal family. The relevant verses are reproduced below:

आसीच्छ्रीजयवर्मेति भूपतीनामधीश्वरः ।
भूपालमौलिरक्षांशुवर्द्धिनाऽग्निखण्डुतिः ॥ ७
योऽभूत्प्रजोदयायैव राजवंशेऽतिनिर्मले ।
अपकृज्ञमहापद्मे पश्चोऽव इवोदितः ॥८ [32.p.154]

Verse 12 of the said inscription while acclaiming his power and modesty records that ‘he, whose seat is decorated with lion heads, whose orders are acted upon by other kings with sincere respect, whose capital is on the peak of mount Mahendra, is surprisingly free of arrogance.’

सिङ्गमूर्ढर्यासनं यस्य राजमूर्ढनि शासनम् ।
महेन्द्राद्रेः पुरी मूर्ढ्वं तथापि न तु विस्मयः ॥ १२

[32.p.155]

However, about two hundred and fifty years after his reign, an eleventh century inscription of Udayadityavarman-II, (1050-1066 CE) engraved on a sandstone stele in the Sdok Kok Thom temple, reveals principal details of the advent, ascendancy and accomplishments of Jayavarman-II. This Khmer temple is located in Khok Sung district, Sa Kaeo province, in present-day Thailand, close to the boarder of Cambodia. It was constructed by a prominent member of the royal priestly family, in his role as construction chief,

with land gifted by king Udayadityavarman-II. The temple was originally dedicated to Lord Shiva.

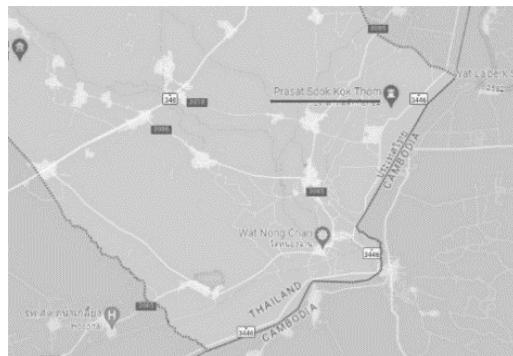


Fig 2. Location of Sdok Kok Thom temple

The Sdok Kok Thom stele was first reported in 1884 CE by Etienne Aymonier. In the 1920s, it was moved to the Thai National Museum at Bangkok. The inscription, a 340-line bi-lingual composition, contains 192 lines in Sanskrit, then 29 lines in Khmer, followed by two lines in Sanskrit and 117 lines in Khmer. It mentions a series of dates, the last of them being 974 Saka (1052 CE). This was probably the date when the inscription was engraved. [32.p.363]

Historians consider the Sdok Kok Thom stele as the most important written explanation of the Khmer Empire in the whole series of Kambuja inscriptions. It relates the history and religious foundations of a priestly family for two centuries and a half, from 802 to 1052 CE, and incidentally gives interesting accounts of various kings they served, from Jayavarman-II (802 – 854 CE) to Udayadityavarman-II (1050 – 1066 CE). [32.p.363]

The Sanskrit text begins with invocation to Lord Siva and Visnu. The Khmer text reports that king Jayavarman II, whom the inscription addresses as 'His Majesty Paramesvara', coming from Java established his capital in the city of Indrapura. There he engaged the venerable and learned Guru Sivakaivalya as the chief royal priest, who along with his family was to follow the king in all his changes of Capitals and residences.

In order to establish his sway over a large empire, Jayavarman-II had to conquer and consolidate many small kingdoms which required frequent change of his capitals. From Indrapura he moved to the town of Hariharalaya and reigned from there for some period. Next, the King founded the town of Amarendrapura and lived there. Priest

Sivakaivalya also established himself in that town to serve him. [32.p.364]

During his stay in these transient capitals, Jayavarman-II was able to bring all the small kingdoms under his control and unify the country. He then selected Mount Mahendra for his next capital and went to reign from that place. Sivakaivalya as before, accompanied the king and settled in the town at Mahendra Parvata. There the King invited a Brahmana from Janapada, named Hiranyadama, well-versed in Tantric procedural, to accomplish a special ceremony, in order to declare himself the *Chakravarti* (universal monarch) of the empire that he named as Kambujadesa. Hiranyadama performed the ritual according to *Vrah Vinasikha* and installed the Royal God ‘*Kamratenjagat ta raja*’- ‘the Lord of the Universe who was the king’. The Sanskrit text of the inscription (reproduced below) names the deity as Devaraja.

शास्त्रं शिरश्चेदविनाशिताख्यं
 सम्मोहनामापि नयोत्तराख्यम् ।
 तत्तुम्बुरोर्वक्तृचतुष्कमस्य
 सिद्धेयव विप्रः समदर्शयत् सः ॥ २८
 द्विजः समुद्भूत स शास्त्रसारं
 रहस्यकोशल्यधिया सयतः ।
 सिद्धिव्रह्मनी किल दंवराजा-
 भिरुयां विद्वेषे भुवनद्विद्वेष्य ॥ २९

[32.p.374]

Hiranyadama taught divine scripture *Sirascheda*, the *Vinasikha*, the *Sammoha* and the *Nayottara*. He recited them from the beginning to the end in order that they may be written down and taught those to the priest Sivakaivalya. He also directed Sivakaivalya how to perform the rituals of the ‘Devaraja’. His Majesty Paramesvara and the Brahmana took solemn oaths that only the family of chief priest Sivakaivalya, and no one else, should perform the worship of the Devaraja. Sivakaivalya initiated all his relations to this worship. [32.p.364]

The sacral ceremony and declarations at Mahendra Parvata had the effect of establishing the independent empire of Kambujadesa. Institutionalisation of Devaraja cult marked a new tradition to be observed by the successive Kings of Kambuja.

The inscription reads further: "Then His Majesty Paramesvara (Jayavarman-II) returned to Hariharalaya to reign, and the Devaraja was also brought there. Sivakaivalya and all his relations officiated as priests as before. Sivakaivalya died during this reign. His Majesty Paramesvara also died at Hariharalaya. The 'Devaraja' was there and was transferred to all the future capitals where successive kings took him as their protector.[32.p.365]

The fame and popularity of Jayavarman-II continued for centuries after his death. The posterity has extolled him with praise and honour. The epigraphic records of latter years belonging to kings of different dynasties admire him as a powerful monarch. Kambujadesa, founded by him, also grew to be one of the dominant powers in South-east Asia.

Jayavarman-II was succeeded by his son Jayavarman III, who reigned from Hariharalaya up to 857 CE. The Devaraja was also at Hariharalaya. This king did some building in the region of Angkor. At his death he received the posthumous name of Vishnuloka. [23.p.103] After him none of his family members occupied the throne. The rulers of Kambuja came from different dynasties.

The Sdok Kok Thom inscription provides the list of kings who ruled Kambuja for more than 250 years after Jayavarman III. Their names and period of reign is as under:

Sl No	Name	Posthumous Name	Period in CE	
			From	To
1	Indravarman-I	Isvaraloka	877	889
2	Yasovarman-I	Paramasivaloka	889	910
3	Harsavarman-I	Rudraloka	910	922
4	Ishanavarman-I	Paramarudraloka	922	928
5	Jayavarman-IV	Parama-sivapada	928	942
6	Harsavarman-II	Brahmaloka	942	944
7	Rajendravarman-II	Sivaloka	944	968
8	Jayavarman-V	Paramaviraloka	968	1001
9	Udayadityavarman-I		1000	1002
10	Jayaviravarman		1002	1006
11	Suryavarman-I	ParamaNirvanapada	1006	1050
12	Udayadityavarman-II		1050	1066

The charter provides the history of the priest family and their influence in the affairs of the state. It gives the names of all the chief

priests who served the kings over two hundred and fifty years and performed the worship of the Devaraja. As mentioned earlier, the first was Sivakaivalya, the venerable and learned Guru, who officiated as the royal priest of Jayavarman-II. The last named was Sadasiwa, who left the religious life in order to marry princess Sri-Viralaksmi, the younger sister of the chief queen of Suryavarman-I. The king bestowed on him the title of Kamsten Sri Jayendra Pandita, royal priest and chief of the workers of the first class. [32.p.368] The list of pious works and religious foundations by the members of priest family and the particulars of the royal favours in the shape of honours, dignities, grant of lands, etc. have been described in great detail in the said inscription.

Legacy of Mahendra Parvata

The epigraphic records of Kambuja do not reveal when and by whom the hill now called Phnom Kulen was named as Mahendra Parvata (or Mahendragiri as recorded in some inscriptions). Undoubtedly it was much before the arrival and reign of Jayavarman-II. Kambuja inscriptions prior to the ninth century CE, indicate the existence of a number of Indianised kingdoms and cities with names of Indian origin. It was the custom of the people to name their new settlements, and the surrounding features such as rivers, mountains, etc. in foreign land with the respective names of their country of origin. It seems the particular hill of Cambodia was named Mahendra Parvata/ Mahendragiri by the people who came from or genuinely were associated with the Indian sacred mount Mahendra, generally called Mahendragiri.

Some of the inscriptions of Kambuja period report the holiness of Mahendra Parvata (Phnom Kulen). The Prah Put Lo Rock inscription dated 947 CE (869 Saka), recorded in both Sanskrit and Khmer, refers to the installation of images of Tathagata (Buddha), Mahesvara (Rudra) Brahma, Vishnu and Paramesvara by a community of holy ascetics in the sacred cave in Mt. Kulen, the ancient Mahendragiri (Mahendra Parvata). [32.p.179]

The Bat Cum inscription of Rajendravarman-II dated 960 CE (882 Saka), found in a temple near the Srah Srang tank to the south of East Baray of Angkor area, imposes certain regulations about bathing in the local *tirtha* (the sacred pond). It also mentions the summit of Shri Mahendragiri as a place of pilgrimage. Verse 21 of the charter, while describing the merits of sacred water coming from

Mahendragiri (Phnom Kulen), speaks that “With the exception of the excellent Brahman, the *Hotar*, no one else should bathe here, in the pure transparent water coming down from the sacred peak of Mount Mahendra and collected in the auspicious tank here, which though small in size confers great merit.” [108.p.156] The Sanskrit text reads as under:

श्रीमन्महेन्द्रगिरिमूर्द्धजतीर्थजाते
स्वच्छे विशुद्धपरिखाम्भसि मङ्गलाहं ।
अल्पेऽन्यनल्पफलदायिनि तेऽत्र सर्वे
मा ज्ञासिषुर्द्विजवरेण विनेव होत्रा ॥ २१

[32.p.225]

The hilltop of Phnom Kulen (Mahendra Parvata/Mahendragiri) is considered as yet a sacred site for Hindus and Buddhists in Cambodia, who come to the mountain in pilgrimage. There is a Siva temple with a granite Linga worshipped by the Hindus. Pouring water on the Linga is considered auspicious. People used to bathe the Linga and get the blessings of Lord Siva.



Fig 3. Siva Temple in Mahendra Parvata, Cambodia

Few meters away is located the sixteenth century Buddhist monastery, named Preah Ang Thom, notable for the giant reclining Buddha.



Fig 4. Statue of the reclining Buddha in Wat Preah Ang Thom

The most remarkable site is the ‘River of Thousand Lingas’ otherwise called the ‘Valley of Thousand Lingas’, on the lower slope of the mountain. The sand stone bed of the hill stream known as the ‘Kbal Spean River’, a tributary of Siem Reap River, is carved with myriads of Shiva Lingas besides the images of other Hindu Gods. The water of the stream is regarded as holy, and it is said that King Jayavarman-II chose to bathe in the river, and had the river diverted so that the stone bed could be carved.



Fig 5. Lingas on the river bed

It is believed that the Siem Reap River, which eventually flows into the Tonle Sap Lake after passing through the plains and the Angkor temple complex, attains a sanctified status for its tributary is blessed by the sacred Lingas over which it flows.

Some scholars opine that the capital city at Mahendra Parvata was further developed under the rule of Udayadityavarman-II, who constructed many temples and expanded the city. At its peak it was one of the largest cities in the eleventh-century world.

Jayavarman-II was cognisant of the spiritual splendour and pragmatism of Mahendra Parvata as the most suitable site for performing the ceremony to proclaim himself the *Chakravarti* of Kambuja Empire. But some scholars postulate diverse opinion on his choice of Mahendra Parvata for the event. One of the eminent historians, Claude Jacques, 2007, while analysing the reasons of Jayavarman-II's preference of Mahendra Parvata for the ritualistic consecration as *Chakravarti* in 802 A.D., states: 'It seems that Jayavarman had been constrained to seek refuge there, probably because he was being pursued by rebel rulers of areas of Khmer territory which he had not yet subdued.' [31.p.103] This view appears to be inapt and sounds rather pejorative for the repute of emperor Jayavarman-II, who is adored in highest esteem by his successors even after centuries of his death. The fact remains that he has already subdued the feudatory chiefs of fragmented kingdoms before his spiritual mission to Mahendra Parvata. The concept of *Chakravarti* stands for a superior moral and political power that has conquered the kingdoms in all directions and unified the country under a single authority. According to scriptures such a declaration is made and/or ceremonies (*Yajna*) held only after pacifying all sorts of hostility and anarchy.

Some others relate Mahendra Parvata with the mythical Mount Meru of the Hindu, Jain and Buddhist cosmology. Mount Meru is contemplated as the center of all the physical, metaphysical and spiritual universes, circumnavigated by the Sun and all other planets. Kenneth R. Hall, 2011, considers 'the summit of Mount Mahendra as the Khmer equivalent of Mount Meru'. [24.p.168] But none of the Kambuja inscriptions compares Mahendra Parvata with Mount Meru.

Coedes, 1968, puts forth another theory for 'why Jayavarman-II established his capital on Mount Mahendra (Phnom Kulen) and summoned a Brahman who instituted the ritual of Devaraja'. According to him, Jayavarman-II on his return from Java used to restore his authority over Cambodia. In order to free himself from the vassalage of Sailendras, the "king of the mountain," (*Saila*-mountain, *Indra*- the King), whose very title conveys the quality of *maharaja* or *chakravartin*, it was necessary that he become one himself,

receiving from a Brahman, on a mountain, the miraculous Linga in which resided henceforth the royal power of the Khmer kings.' [23.p.100]

However, Coedes citing Jean Filliozat, has indicated about Mount Mahendra of India that is considered the abode of Lord Siva as king of all the gods (Devaaja), including Indra Devaraja, and as sovereign of the country where the mountain stands. [23.p.100]

Mount Mahendra of India

The sacred Mount Mahendra of the Hindu pantheon, mentioned by Coedes above is situated amongst the Eastern Ghats of India, in Gajapati district of Odisha State. People of the locality preferably call the mountain Mahendragiri. It is one of the highest peaks on the east-coast of India and a natural wonderland surrounded by hills and thick forests. It acted as a land-mark for the ships in the high-seas for centuries before the modern times. Apart from its spiritual grandeur and archaeological splendour, the rolling hills and valleys have great biological and ecological importance. The area has been notified as a Biodiversity Heritage Site in 2022.

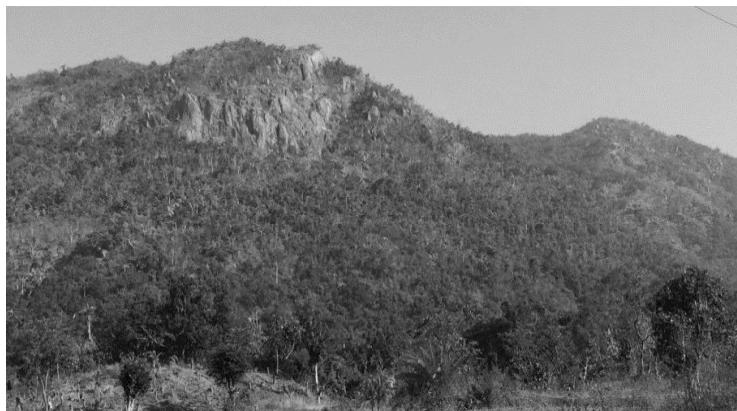


Fig 6. Mount Mahendra (Mahendragiri) of Kalinga

The *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* admire this hill, inhabited by *Rishis*, as one of the most sacred places of pilgrimage (*tirthas*). The epics mention that Parsurama, the sixth incarnation (*avatar*) of Lord Vishnu, retired to this mountain after he transferred his power to Lord Rama, the next incarnation of Lord Vishnu. Lord Parsurama, a *chiranjeevi*, lives in meditative retirement and performs penance (*tapas*) at the summit of Mahendragiri. 'The Vamana, the Vishnu, the Markandeya, the Agni and the Skanda Puranas also refer to

Mahendra Parvata in various contexts.' [111.p.17] Some legends allude that Hanuman leapt from the summit of this hill to Sri Lanka in search of Sita.

As discussed in Chapter-II the pilgrimage of Pandava brothers to Mahendragiri is mentioned below.

Proceeding from place to place, the Pandavas entered Kalinga territory, where the accompanying sage Lomasa narrated the divinity of river Baitarani, and advised Yudhishtira to take bath in its sacred water and offer oblations. On completion of rituals at Baitarani *tirtha*, the sage planned a sea journey for the next destination Mahendragiri. Reaching the Mahendra Mountain, Yudhishtira with his brothers, paid obeisance to all sages there, such as the Bhrigus, the Angiras, the Vasishthas, and the Kasyapas. They also had a sight of the mighty-souled Parsurama, worshipped him and received words of blessings from him. The brothers spent the night on the sacred summit of mount Mahendra and the next day started their journey to southern region. [184.p.39]

Commemorating the visit of Pandavas, the ancient temples standing on the top of Mahendragiri have been named as the Kunti temple, the Yudhisthira temple and the Bhima temple. These temples are estimated to have been built during sixth-seventh century CE.

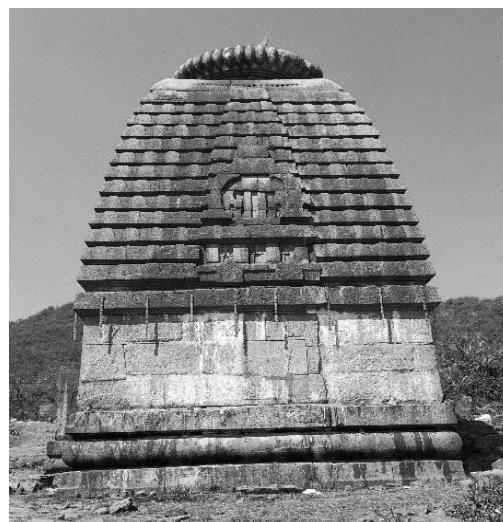
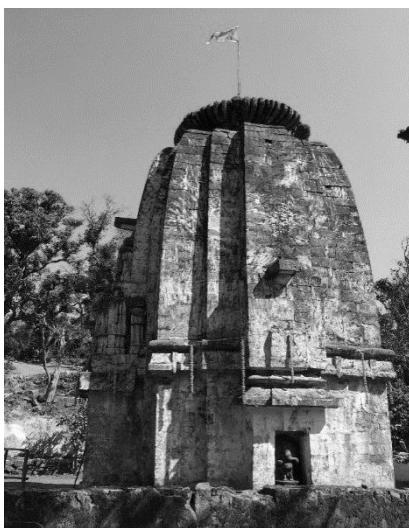


Fig 7. Yudhisthira Temple



**Fig 8. Gokarnesvara Siva Temple
Otherwise known as Kunti Temple**

From the early historical period Mahendra continues to be an important seat of political, religious and cultural life of Kalinga. [118.p.21] The fourth century epic poem *Raghuvamsa* of the Sanskrit laureate Kalidas mentions Mahendra as the mountain *par excellence* of the Kalingas. The poet says king of Kalinga as the lord of Mahendra and according to him the occupation of the Mahendra hill by Raghu signified his victory over Kalinga. [02.p.21]

An analogous episode, like the ritual of Jayavarman-II on mount Mahendra of Kambuja in the ninth century CE, has been reported as performed by prince Kamarnnava, the founder of Ganga dynasty, on the summit of mount Mahendra of Kalinga, as early as in the fifth century CE. The copper-plate grants of Ganga King Anantavarman-Chodagangadeva relate the origin of their dynasty to Lord Vishnu, Brahma, the sage Atri and the sacred river Ganga (the Ganges). The said inscription narrates that prince Kamarnnava, son of Virasimha, a descendant of this dynasty, handed over his own territory to his paternal uncle, and, with his four brothers, set out to conquer the earth. On arrival in Kalinga, they climbed up the Mahendragiri and worshipped Lord Siva, the Gokarnnasvami. Out of grace the God bestowed on Kamarnava the valour of bull and symbols of universal sovereignty. Descending from the summit of Mahendra, and being accompanied, like Yudhishthira, by his four younger brothers, Kamarnnava conquered Baladitya, and took possession of Kalinga

country. [56.p.App. C-xv-xvi] or [56.p.167-168 of 260]. Relevant portion of the charter is reproduced below:

अथ कामार्णबो दत्त्वा पितृव्याय निजान्महीम् ।
प्रायात् पुरुष्वां सुव जेतुम्मदेन्द्रं भ्रातृभिर्गिरिम् ॥ १६ ॥
तत्र च सकलसुरामुरसिद्धसाध्यकिरीटकोटिविष्वामसृणचरणपीठमाराध्य
गोकर्णस्वामिनमस्य प्रसादात्समासादित्प्रवृष्टमलांकृतसमुपलब्धसकलसाम्राज्य
चिह्नैरूपशोभमानस्सनरेन्द्रो महेन्द्राचलशिश्वरादवतीर्व्य युधिष्ठिर इव चतुर्भिरनुजे
रनुगम्यमानस्समरनीरसिक्खालादित्यन्निर्विष्वकुङ्कमार्णवः कलिङ्गानप्रदीप् ।

[56.p.App.C-xi] or [56.p.163 of 260]

The early Gangas, who ruled over Kalinga in the first millennium CE were divided into several branches. So far we know from the copperplate inscriptions that there lived two important branches. The one that ruled from Dantapura and Kalinganagara, the southern part of the Mahendra mountain, were designated as the ‘Eastern Gangas’; and the branch that ruled from Svetaka in the northern part of the said mountain were known as Svetaka Gangas. [97.p.347] Lord *Gokarnesvara* Siva, residing on the summit of mount Mahendra, continued to be revered as the tutelary deity of rulers of both Eastern Ganga and Svetaka Ganga dynasties.

The inscriptions issued by both these Ganga dynasties usually begins with the customary prayer for Siva Gokarnesvara on the summit of Mahendra Mountain. One such representative invocation of rulers of **Eastern Gangas** is furnished below:

- १. अ॒ स्वस्त्यमरपुरातुकारिण सब्वंतु सुखरमणीया[द्]
- २. विजयवतः कलिङ्गनगर वासका[न] महेन्द्राचला-
- ३. मलशिश्वर प्रतिष्ठ(ष्ठि)तस्य चराचरणुरो[ः] सकल -
- ४. मुवननिम्माणैक सूत्रधारस्य शशाङ्क चूडा -
- ५. मणे भ(र्म)गवतो गोकर्णस्वामिन श्ररणकम -
- ६. ल युगल पुण्यमादपास्त क्ष सकल कलिकलद्वौ
- ७. गङ्गामलकुलोद्भव निजनिविष्वामारोपार्जित सक -
- ८. ल कलिङ्गाधिराज्य प्रवितत चतुर्दधितरङ्ग मेव -

[97.p.91]

Above lines are roughly translated as under:

‘Om! Hail! From the victorious residence at Kalinganagara, which resembles the city of the Gods and which is pleasant in all seasons, the King, freed from the stains of the Kali-age in consequence of his prayers at the lotus-feet of

the Siva Gokarnesvara, the religious preceptor of all things, animate and inanimate and the sole architect of the universe, established on the sacred summit of mount Mahendra; has attained the supreme sovereignty over the whole of Kalinga by the quivering of the edge of his own sword.'

The other collateral branch, Svetaka Gangas were staunch followers of Saivism and styled themselves as *paramamahesvara* (devout worshipper of lord Siva). [118.p.19] All their copper plate charters began with prayer for divine blessings of Siva Gokarnesvara. An example of their reverence as recorded in 'Dhanantara plates of Samantavarman' is reproduced below:

१. अं स्वस्ति । विजय श्वेतकाष्ठिष्ठानाद्भु -
२. गवत श्राराचरणगुरुः सकल शशा -
३. इशोवरधरस्य दिथ्युत्पत्ति प्रल -
४. यहेतोऽ[ः] महेन्द्राचाल शिखर नि -
५. वासिनः श्रीगोकर्णेश्वर स्वामिन ।
६. श्रारणा कमलाराधनादब्दाप -

[97.p.308]

The lines are translated as under:

Om Hail! The victorious overlord of Svetaka has acquired the store of virtue by the worship of the lotus feet of the divine lord Gokarnesvara, the Almighty, the master of the animate and the inanimate and the cause of existence, creation and destruction, who wears the crest-ornament of the half-moon and resides on the summit of the Mahendra Mountain.

Besides the early Gangas, another royal family, the Sailodbhavas relate their origin to the Mahendra Mountain of Kalinga. During the sixth-seventh century CE, this dynasty ruled a principality in coastal Odisha extending from Mahanadi in the north to Mahendragiri in the south. This territory was known as Kongoda mandala. It was so named probably because it contained parts of Kalinga and Oda (Odra) and the word Kalingoda, thus formed, came to be known as Kongoda in common use. Its capital was Kongoda-vasaka on the bank of the river Salima which may be identified with the present rivulet Salia flowing from Banpur mala into the Chilika lake. [02.p.99]

Their legendary origin, which seems to go back to the late fourth century CE, is known from several inscriptions from the seventh and eighth centuries. They relate that Pulindasena, a raja of Kalinga, prayed the God Siva to hand over his rule to a younger successor.

Siva granted this boon to Pulindasena, and Sailodbhava, the founder of the dynasty, appeared out of the cleft pieces of a rock (*sila-sakala-udbhedi*). [113.p.110]

The ‘Puri Plates of Madhavarman-Sainyabhita’ edited by R. G. Basak and published in *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XXIII, 1935-1936; pp. 122-131, states that the Sailodbhava dynasty of Kongoda were devout worshipper of Lord Siva residing on the summit of Mahendra Parvata. Regarding the origin of Sailodbhava dynasty the charter narrates:

“That there was a great person of the name of Pulindasena who was ‘famous amongst the people of Kalinga’. But he is stated to have been averse to the rulership on earth for himself, although he was a highly accomplished man. By his ardent worship of the God Svayambhu for the creation of a fit and able ruler for the country, Sailodbhava was created as the lord of the earth, and from him originated a family of good rulers. [128.p.125]

Phnom Kulen: the Kula Parvata

Mahendra Parvata of Kambuja period in Cambodia has been renamed as Phnom Kulen, ‘Phnom’ being the Khmer word for mountain (Sanskrit- Parvata) and ‘Kulen’ has been translated as Lychee fruits. Most of the western scholars used to mention Phnom Kulen, the ‘mountain of the lychee fruit trees’. But some Indian authors put forward a different connotation for the word ‘Kulen’. They advocate that ‘Kulen’ is a Khmer transliteration of the Sanskrit word ‘*Kula*’ meaning ‘clan’ or dynasty. In fact the Mahendra mountain of India is considered as a ‘*Kula Parvata*’.

The Vedic tradition of India used to esteem the Nature as divine. By chanting hymns the sages connected and communicated with nature and the elements. They have assigned seven mountains the status of *Kula Parvata* (the mountain of dynastic origin). They are Mahendra, Malaya, Pariyatra, Riksha, Sahayadri, Shuktiman, and Vindhya. Not only the religious epics of India but the inscriptions of different royal clans have recorded the name of their *Kula Parvata* or *Kulagiri*. The charters of Ganga and Sailodbhava dynasty have mentioned Mahendra Parvata or Mahendragiri of Kalinga as their *Kula Parvata*. The Hindus of Kambuja, who named the mountain as Mahendra might have adored it as the *Kula Parvata*, which the local tongue called Phnom Kulen.

Devaraja Cult: a Concomitant Kalinga Culture

The most important part of celebration on mount Mahendra (Phnom Kulen) by Jayavarman-II in 802 CE was the installation of '*Kamratenjagat ta raja*', the Lord of the universe, who is the King. The Sanskrit text of the inscription records the lord as '*Devaraja*'. Brahmana Hiranyadama consecrated '*Devaraja*' in the form of a Siva Linga and prescribed special hymns for its worship. The priest family exclusively employed for the Lord were instructed accordingly. On shifting of the capital from Mahendra to Hariharalaya, '*Devaraja*' was brought there. The priest family also came and settled in the capital. Later during the reign of Yasovarman-I, (889-910 CE), a new capital was founded in the town Yasodharapura and '*Devaraja*' taken there from Hariharalaya. The King constructed a temple at Yasodharapura and the priest Vamasiva installed the Linga there. [32.p.366] The inscription also reports that '*Devaraja*' was moved to other capitals by the successive Kings of Kambuja.

The '*Devaraja*' cult played a dominant role in legitimising the newly established Kambuja Empire at the beginning of the ninth century. [30.p.03] However scholars have variously hypothesised the ritual, some comparing it with the ancestor worship and others with mountain worship. Based on the English translation of '*Devaraja*' as 'God King' others suggest that the ritual was a process of deification of the king. It empowered the king to represent the supreme Lord who alone can protect the realm and the religion. But this theory of idolising Cambodian kings as '*Devaraja*' has been disapproved by J. Filliozat and Dr.Hermann Kulke. [30.p.03] Alluding to Indian tradition, they concur that Lord Siva represented the '*Devaraja*', the '*Kamratenjagat ta raja*', consecrated on the mount Mahendra by Jayavarman-II and subsequently taken to capitals established by successive kings.

Earlier in this chapter, we have discussed the worship of Siva Gokarnesvara by Ganga king Kamarnava on mount Mahendra of Kalinga in the fifth century CE. He was blessed with the symbols of universal sovereignty. He established the rule of Gangas over Kalinga that lasted for more than 900 years. Inscriptions of Ganga kings invoked Siva as the Lord of the universe, the creator and the destroyer of all things and beings. They worshiped Siva as the state-deity for sustaining their rule.

The state-deity cult that was institutionalised by Kalinga rulers since the fifth century CE, is a ritual that establishes the ruler's relationship with the God, whereby the king surrenders his sovereignty to the Lord and becomes his representative to administer the country on his behalf. This tradition of identification with the state-deity has great political advantage for achieving integration of the domain. The cult also creates a pious status for the king as the principal servitor of the Lord.

It seems that the ceremony performed by Jayavarman-II on mount Mahendra of Cambodia was a replication of Kalinga culture. He founded the state-deity Siva, the '*Devaraja*' and proclaimed himself as Siva's representative to rule the country. Either he was influenced by the rituals of Ganga king Kamarnnava or they might have a common ancestral connection.

CHAPTER 7

Twelfth Century Upsurge of Vaishnavism in Puri and Angkor

Two magnificent Hindu temples of the world, dedicated to Lord Vishnu, were built in the twelfth century CE, one at Puri, Odisha, India and the other at Angkor, Cambodia. The first one was constructed by King Anantavarman Chodagangadeva (1077-1147 CE) of Odisha, then named ‘Sakalotkala Samrajya’ and the second by King Parama Vishnupada Suryavarman-II (1113-1150 CE), of Cambodia then named Kambuja Desa. Both the monuments are famed for their sculptural richness of splendid statues and superb relief carvings. By its size and area Angkor Wat is considered the largest Hindu temple of the world.

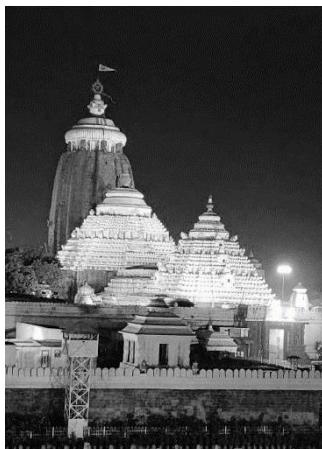


Fig 1. The Jagannatha Temple at Puri, Odisha, India

The temple at Puri, known as the Purushottama-Jagannatha Temple, the supreme abode of Lord Vishnu, is sacred to all Hindus. Since the twelfth century, Lord Purushottama-Jagannatha has come to be worshipped as the Supreme Deity of Hindu India. Jagannatha *Dham* is one of the four major sacred places of Hindu tradition;

others are Badrinnath, Rameswara and Dwaraka. As a place of holy pilgrimage, the temple is visited by millions of people each year. During Muslim rule in India, there has been repeated plundering of the Jagannatha temple including destruction of the images of the deities. But in spite of Islamic raids and focussed attempt of evangelisation by the Church during British rule, the cult of Jagannatha continued to thrive and triumph in the hearts millions of Hindus for centuries.



Fig 2. Angkor Wat, Cambodia

The fate of Vishnu temple at Angkor was different. Though the bas relief on the walls bear a series of large-scale scenes depicting episodes from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, the aspect under which Lord Vishnu was represented in the sanctum sanctorum of the temple is not known as yet. The central statue of the Lord has disappeared from some unknown period. Some historians opine that after 1180 CE, Angkor Wat underwent strange vicissitudes of fortune for it was appropriated by Jayavarman-VII (1181-1201 CE) to the cult of Mahayana Buddhism and was afterwards annexed to Hinayana Buddhism. [38.p.100]

The city and the temple were abandoned after fifteenth century CE. It was rediscovered by the French naturalist Henri Mouhot in 1860 CE. Mouhot, wonder-struck at the quite unexpected sight of this colossal temple, in the midst of an impenetrable jungle, described it as “the most wonderful structure in the world, the like of which Greece or Rome had never built”. [108.p.209]

From Saivism to Vaishnavism in Kalinga and Kambuja

It is interesting to note that both the kings of Kalinga (Odisha) and Kambuja who built these monuments of grandeur to venerate Lord Vishnu, belonged to long Saivite traditions. Their predecessors, for centuries, venerated Lord Siva as the tutelary deity.

Anantavarman Chodagangadeva was a scion of Eastern Ganga dynasty of Kalinga that was established by King Kamarnava in 498 CE after worshiping Siva Gokarnesvara on the mount Mahendra of Kalinga. All the kings of this dynasty were great devotees of Lord Gokarnesvara and adored him as the state deity. In the early years of reign of Chodagangadeva, the grants issued in his favour as a child king, indicate veneration of Siva Gokarnesvara. These grants used to begin with the following customary benediction:

कलिकालमष्मीणां महामहेन्द्राचलशिखरप्रतिष्ठितय सचराचरगुरोः सकल-
भुवननिर्माणैकसूत्रधारस्य शशाङ्कचूडामणेभंगवतो गोकर्णस्वामिनः प्रसादात्

[56.p.158 of 260]

Subsequently it is seen that the king is eulogised with the title Parama Mahesvara, the devout worshipper of Siva, without mentioning the name of Lord Gokarnesvara. In the Vizagapatam copper plate grant dated Saka 1003 (1081 CE), Murupaka grant dated Saka 1005 (1083 CE) and Sellada grant dated Saka 1006 (1084 CE), he was mentioned as Parama Mahesvara, Parama Bhattacharya, Maharajadhiraja, and Trikalingadhipati as under:

कलिङ्गनगरात् परममाहेश्वर-परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-त्रिकलिङ्गाधि -
पतिः श्रीमदनन्तवर्म्मचोडगङ्गदेवः कुशलि�

[56.p.159 of 260]

However in Korni plates of Chodagangadeva, issued in Saka 1034 (1112 CE), besides Parama Mahesvara, two new titles, Parama Vaishnava and Parama Brahmanya were added to his eulogy as under:

स श्रीमदनन्तवर्म्ममहाराजो राजाधिराजो राजपरमेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः परम माहेश्वरः
परमवैष्णवः परमव्रह्मायः मातापितृपादानुध्यातः श्रीचोडगङ्गदेवः

[56.p.166 of 260.n.5]

After six years, in Vizagapatam plates of the said king, issued in Saka 1040 (1118 CE), 'Parama Mahesvara' is omitted retaining Parama Vaishnava and Parama Brahmanya as under:

स श्रीमदनन्तवर्म्ममहाराजो राजधिराजो राजपरमेश्वरः परमभृतारकः
परमबैष्णवः परमब्रह्मात्यः मातापितृपादानुध्यातः श्रीचोङ्गज्ञानेत्रः . . . [56.p.16
6 of 260]

The rulers of Kambuja also revered Lord Siva as their state deity, at least from early ninth century, when King Jayavarman-II by consecrating a Siva Linga on the summit of mount Mahendra (Phnom Kulen) of Kambuja established the *Devaraja* cult. The *Devaraja*, in shape of Siva Linga was brought to the new capitals by the successive kings. Jayavarman-II brought it from Mahendra to Hariharalaya. [32.p.365] King Yasovarman-I (889-910 CE), on founding the new capital at Yashodharapura (the earlier name of Angkor) took the *Devaraja* there. His priest Vamasiva installed the Siva Linga in the temple built by the king. [32.p.366] During the reign of Jayavarman-IV (928-942 CE) the king left Yashodharapura for reigning at Koh Ker and took the state deity there. He built a splendid Siva temple at Koh Ker. King Rajendravarman-II (944-968 CE) came back to reign in the city of Yashodharapura and brought the *Devaraja* with him. [32.p.367]

The inscriptions and posthumous names of Kambuja kings from the ninth to the twelfth century CE indicate that they were devout worshipper of Lord Siva. For example the, Phnom Sandak Stele Inscription of Yasovarman-I, dated 817 Saka (895 CE) records that the King endowed a domain to Siva, named it after his father, and established a college in connection with it on the mountain which he called Sivapura. A new Siva Linga was installed and was called Bhadresvara. The posthumous name of this king was Paramasivaloka. [32.p.151] The posthumous names of his successors were: Rudraloka for Harsavarman-I (910-922 CE), Paramarudraloka for Ishanavarman-I (922-928 CE), Parama-sivapada for Jayavarman-IV (928-942 CE) and Sivaloka for Rajendravarman-II (944-968 CE). King Utyadityavarman-II (1050–1066 CE) was also a devotee of Lord Siva. Guided by a powerful guru, he revived interest in the *Devaraja* cult and built a massive temple to house the Siva Linga associated with his reign.[46.p.57]

King Suryavarman-II (1113-1150 CE), who built the Vishnu temple at Angkor was also a devout worshiper of Siva. His Phnom

Sandak Inscription dated 1116 CE enumerates gifts of gold, silver, jewels, lands, male and female slaves, elephants, horses, cows, and buffaloes, offered by guru Divakara Pandita, on behalf of the king, to the gods of all the places of worship and in particular to Siva Bhadresvara. [32.p.431] The Trapan Don on Stele Inscription dated 1129 CE begins with an invocation to Siva followed by a short eulogy of Suryavarman-II as under:

नमश् शिवाय यच्छक्तिरादा पुरुषसंगता ।
 प्रकृतिस्था द्वितीया वा याभ्यां व्यप्तमिदञ्जगत् ॥ १
 अभिव्या(व्य)क्तो यथाप्येको दृश्यतेऽनेकधा शिवः ।
 चन्द्रः प्रतिमयेवाव्यात् सा शक्तिश् शास्त्रभवी जगत् ॥ २
 आसीदासिन्धुसमात्तवसुधो वसुधाधिपः ।
 श्रीसूर्यवर्म्मदेवाख्यो भानुमद्रवदक्षिः[शि]तः ॥ ३

[32.p.434]

The charter also mentions the list of endowments, made in 1126 CE, to Siva of Lingapura, Siva of Prthusaila and Visnu Sri Campesvara in verses 28-30. [32.p.434]

Like Kalinga king Anantavarman Chodagangadeva, this king of Kambuja latter on revered both Lord Siva and Vishnu. His Vat Phu Stele Inscription dated 1061 Saka (1139 CE), compiled partly in Sanskrit and partly in Khmer, refers to God Bhadresvara (Siva) at the beginning. But the Khmer text mentions regarding royal orders for various images including those of Siva Linga, Sankara-Narayan and Lord Vishnu. The images were installed in 1139 CE. Villages were founded and slaves along with various other articles were assigned for the deities.[32.p.438]

Epigraphic records as discussed in preceding paragraphs indicate a change in religious orientation from Saivism to Vaishnavism in both Kalinga (Odisha) and Kambuja (Cambodia) in the twelfth century CE. The transformation was championed by King Anantavarman Chodagangadeva in Odisha and King Suryavarman-II in Cambodia. Construction of majestic temples dedicated to Vishnu both at Puri and Angkor demonstrate the royal devotion for lord Vishnu. It also immensely influenced the religious culture of the people of both the countries.

What triggered the change?

Scholars have tried to probe the reasoning of shift in religious fervour in favour of Vaishnavism from Saivism. Various and divergent views have been predicted. Some have advocated the role of saint Ramanujain influencing the ‘conversion’ of Anantavarman Chodagangadeva in favour of Vaishnavism. But historian N. K. Sahu et al, 2010, opine that ‘this view does not appear to be correct because Ramanuja remained in Hoyasala kingdom of Karnataka up to 1122 CE’ after which he probably came to Utkala (Odisha). [02.p.191] As discussed in previous paragraphs, Chodaganga was already designated as Parama Vaishnava in the inscriptions issued in 1112 CE and 1118 CE that is much before Ramanuja’s coming to Odisha. Besides, saint Ramanuja was an exponent of the “*Sri Vaishnava*” cult. This tradition emphasised the worship of Laksmini-Narayana, whereas King Chodagangadeva built the temple for Purushottama-Jagannatha. The deities in Puri temple represent Vaishnavism along with Saivism, Shakta and Tantra, which is a tradition unique to Odisha.

Jagannatha temple of Puri is rather associated with the pious lyric of *Gita Govinda* composed by the twelfth century saint-poet Jayadeva. Jayadeva emphasised the Vaishnavite theology by way of devotional worship of Lord Krishna. As recorded in literature, Jayadeva was born in village Kenduvilva. The place has been identified as village Kenduli in Khurda district of Odisha, about 35 kilometres from Bhubaneswar. Every night in Puri Jagannatha temple *Gita Govinda* is recited in the melodious style of *Odishi* music, a tradition said to have continued from the time of the poet Jayadeva himself. This self-surrendering song *Gita Govinda* exerted enthralling influence on the people for love of Lord Krishna (Vishnu) being embodied in the carved image of Lord Jagannatha. It will be, therefore, more rational to suggest that the re-emergence of Vaishnavism in the twelfth century in Odisha was an influence of Jayadeva than that of Ramanuja.

Consolidation of Kalinga and Kambuja Empire

Advent of Anantavarman Chodaganga in Kalinga and Suryavarman-II in Kambuja witnessed the rise of two great empires. Both these kings, almost simultaneously, played significant roles in shaping the

political history of their respective territory, although situated seas apart.

For more than five hundred years, Chodaganga's predecessors, the Eastern Ganga dynasty of Kalinga, were confined to a small kingdom till eleventh century CE. His grandfather Vajrahasta-V (1038-1070 CE) expanded the kingdom and was adorned with the title 'Trikalingadhipati'. Raj Raj Deva-I (1070-1077 CE), father of Chodaganga, made some advancement into parts of Vengi, Utkala and Koshala. He was a great military genius and earned glory and fame for Kalinga. Chodaganga was only two year old when his father died. His younger brother Paramardideva was just a baby. The two-year-old boy Chodaganga was crowned as king at Kalinganagara in 1077 but he actually ruled from 17th February 1078 CE. [148.p.49]

In the initial years of his reign, Chodaganga had to face a lot of trouble from the rulers of bordering kingdoms, particularly from the Cholas. But later he proved himself as a great conqueror and regained the ancestral territories of Kalinga from his southern and northern neighbours. He recovered Vengi from the control of the Cholas in the war that took place in 1110 CE. After dealing with the south he diverted his attentions to the north. The Somavamsi dynasty of Utkala was vanquished. He attacked parts of Bengal and annexed both Dandabhukti and Sumha to his domain. By 1118 CE, Anantavarman Chodagangadeva became the master of a vast territory stretching from river Ganges in the north to the river Godavari in the south. But troubles from Western Chalukyas and Cholas continued in western and southern frontiers. By 1135 CE, he could succeed in suppressing the rebellion and re-establish his supremacy over the entire territory between the Ganges and the Godavari. [02.p.191] In order to strengthen his imperial claim, Chodaganga, at the same time, took up the imperial title of a *Chakravarti* which in south India had become an imperial privilege of Chodaganga's relatives and rivals on the Chola throne. [60.p.214]

Almost identical state of affairs prevailed in Kambuja in the early twelfth century before the advent of king Suryavarman-II in 1113 CE. The country was divided, if not more, at least into two different parts under occupation by rival rulers. Scholars opine that during the latter part of eleventh century CE, while Harsavarman-III ruled in the south of Angkor region, Jayavarman-VI ruled in the north and north-east. This situation probably continued till Suryavarman-II, the

second successor of Jayavarman-VI, who united the whole kingdom under his authority. [79.p.121]

Suryavarman-II (1113-1150 CE) was consecrated by Divakara Pandita who also became his spiritual master. The ‘Phnom Sandak inscription dated 1116 CE (1038 Saka) informs that Suryavarman-II, immediately after his accession took *diksa* from his spiritual Guru, studied different religious doctrine (*siddhanta*) beginning with sacred mysteries (*vrahguhya*), organised grand conference on religious treatise (*sastrotsava*), and distributed to the priests large amounts of honorarium (*daksina*) as well as numerous gifts. According to Phnom Prah Vihar inscription, dated 1121 CE (1043 Saka) the king performed *Kotihoma*, *Laksahoma*, and the *Mahaboma* as well as various sacrifices to the ancestors. [32.p.430-431]

Once he was securely enthroned Suryavarman seems to have lost no time in reunifying the Empire. He is celebrated in the inscriptions primarily for his military prowess in seizing power and in carrying out campaigns beyond the frontiers of the empire as they then existed. [31.p.212] He emerged as an untiring conqueror and bore arms against his neighbouring enemies throughout his forty years of reign, not only in the Mekong basin, but also against the Chams to the east, and even against the Dai-Viet, in what is now known as Vietnam. [62.p.62] Thus we see that in spite of internal troubles the limits of the Kambuja Empire exceeded even those of the tenth century. The Kambuja king is said to have maintained 200,000 war elephants, and grandiloquent description is given of the royal tower. The Kambuja inscriptions refer in rapturous terms to the victories of Suryavarman-II and his triumph over hostile kings. We are further told that the kings of other islands whom he wanted to conquer voluntarily submitted to him and he himself marched into the countries of the enemies. According to Chinese annals the domain of Kambuja extended from Champa to Lower Burma and included the northern part of Malay Peninsula up to the Bay of Bandon during his reign. [79.p.123]

Exhilaration for the Imperial Emblem

The political struggle for power and expansion of Ganga Empire came to a halt by 1135 CE. This was followed by the period of consolidation, re-organisation and legitimisation of the royal authority. The revenue collected from the extensive territory enhanced the economic prosperity of the empire. It is precisely at this juncture, the

Emperor decided to build the monumental temple at Puri. Chodaganga's resolve for the Purushottama-Jagannatha temple is reflected in his speech as recorded in temple chronicle '*Madala Panji*'. The abstract translation of the royal discourse by Andrew Stirling, 1825, is narrated below:

"Having been warned in a dream by Paramesvara (Sri Jagannatha,) that it was proper he should offer his devotions at Puri, the Raja proceeded to that place. After performing the usual worship with great pomp and solemnity, he collected about him the princes of his family, vassal lords, and chief officers of state, and held the following discourse:

'Hear, Oh Chiefs and Princes, the arrangements which I have established for the management of my empire, the expenses of state, the pay of my armies and religious establishments, and the support of the royal treasury and attend to the counsel which I give you. It is known to you that the Rajas of the Kesari line ruled from the Kansa Bansha River (in Balasore district) on the north, to the Rushikulya river (in Ganjam District) in south, and from the sea on the east to the Dandpat of Bhimnagar in west, from which tract of country they derived a revenue of fifteen lacs of *marhs* of gold. By the grace of Sri Jagannatha, the princes of the Ganga vamsa have, after subduing the khetris and bhuniyas (Zemindars), added to the Raj the following extent of country, viz. on the north that lying between the Kans Bans and the Datai Borhi river, South the country from the Rushikulya down to the Dandpat of Rajahmundry (in Andhra Pradesh), and west to the confines of Boudh-Sonepur, from which an increase of revenue of twenty lacs has been obtained; my total gross revenues therefore are thirty-five lacs of *marhs* of gold. Out of this amount I have assigned stated sums for the payment of the Sawants, (Commanders) Mahawats, and Rawats, (chiefs of horses and elephants), Priests, Brahmins, and the worship of the deity. For the maintenance of the Paikas, Shewaks, (vassals or officers) and other servants of the state, lands have been duly set apart.

Oh Princes and Chiefs, respect my arrangements, and beware that you never resume the above grants and allowances, lest you become liable to the penalty denounced in the *shastras* against those who take back what has been given. Above all in the management of the country under your charge, be just and merciful to the ryots, and collect revenue from them according to the fixed and established rate. As I have by my own good fortune and exertions accumulated a large treasure, viz. forty lacs of *marhs* of gold taken from the countries of the conquered bhuniyas, and jewels to the value of seven lacs eighty-eight thousand *marhs*, it is now my intention to devote a portion to the service of Jagannatha, by building a new temple one hundred cubits high and bestowing a quantity of ornaments and utensils. Let me hear your opinions on this point.

The ministers and courtiers all replied that so good a work could not too soon be taken in hand and that after the sagacity and prudence displayed by his majesty, any advice on their parts must be superfluous. An officer

named Paramahans Bajpoi was therefore directed to take the work in hand forthwith, and twelve lacs and fifty thousand *marhs* of gold with jewels to the value of 2, 50,000 were set apart for the purpose.” [177.p.270-72]

We have so far not come across anysuch record of Suryavarman-II to indicate his motivation for the marvellous monument he built in Cambodia. Nonetheless his conquests resulted in substantial territorial expansion of the realm which enhanced the resource base. ‘Relations with China were re-established under his reign, and several ambassadors were sent to the emperor who conferred “high honours” on Suryavarman-II. [62.p.62] Such diplomatic initiatives expanded the commercial activity of Kambuja Empire. The resources of the extensive domain and economic prosperity might have encouraged the monarch to build the imperial icon, Angkor Wat.

A Socio-Political Strategy

Erection of the Vaishnavite shrine by Anantavarman Chodaganga and Suryavarman-II was rather a socio-political option based on the religious life of the people of their newly conquered territory. The emperors were aware of the spiritual trend that prevailed in different parts of their vast domain and accordingly preferred the cult that could ensure the socio-cultural stability.

A major part of Chodaganga’s domain, then known as Utkala, was previously under the rule of Somavamsi dynasty. It is reported in the Jagannatha temple chronicle that Somavamsi king Yayati Kesari on conquering Utkala was informed by the people regarding their ‘State-deity’. Honouring the local tradition king Yayati had then constructed a new temple for Lord Vishnu in Puri and renewed the cult.

The small temple for Purusottama-Narasimha, by the side of Muktimandapa of Jagannatha temple, Puri, is said to have been built by Yayati Kesari before Chodaganga constructed the gigantic Purushottama temple. During eighth and ninth century CE, the territory north of Kalinga was ruled by Bhaumakara dynasty who named the realm as Toshali. This dynasty patronised Mahayana Buddhism combined with Saivite Hinduism which later developed as Shakta and Tantra cult. By twelfth century this zone of Utkala had their discrete spiritual practices of Shakta-Tantra tradition.

The hill-clad tribal zone of Chodaganga’s empire had their specific faiths. The Puranas relate the legendary tribal deity ‘Nilamadhava’ with Vaishnavite cult of Jagannatha temple at Puri.

Lord Vishnu in the form of Nilamadhava was secretly worshipped by the tribal king named Vishvavasu. A section of servitors of the Jagannatha temple claims to belong to the lineage of this tribal king. Certain special rituals of the deities are performed by this group of servitors. The tradition signifies the autochthonous character of the deity of Puri temple. According to historian Manmath Nath Das, 1977; the 'Royal patronage of autochthonous deities seems to have been an essential supposition for the consolidation of political power and its legitimation in the Hindu-tribal zone of Odisha. The tradition concerning this early relation between the conquering Hindu kings and the local tribes had been preserved for centuries. When the Gangas conquered the area south of the Mahendragiri mountain shortly before 500 CE, they acknowledged a deity of the Saora tribe on the Mahendragiri mountain under the name of Siva-Gokarnesvara as the tutelary deity of the family (*ista-devata*). [113.p.109]

Anantavarman Chodaganga with his imperial empathy was ready to accommodate all these popular spiritual cults for his political advantage. In order to unite the cultural diversity of the empire that he named as 'Sakalotkala Samrajya' and to create a lasting symbol of his own glory, he constructed the temple of Purushottama-Jagannatha that binds Vaishnava, Saiva, Shakta, Tantra and the tribal element. It is rather a strategic decision for political stability of the new domain.

For Emperor Suryavarman-II, the situation was slightly different. Though he inherited a Saivite tradition, most parts of his newly acquired territory had followers of Vishnu or Siva-Vishnu pantheon. Epigraphic records show that Vishnu was worshipped from very early period in the Indianised kingdom of Funan that comprised portions of south Cambodia, south Vietnam and south Thailand. The earliest inscription of Funan period, found at Neak Ta Dambang Dek, begins with an invocation to God Vishnu. The relevant Sanskrit verse is reproduced below:

युज्ञ योगमतर्कितक्षमपि य(ः) क्षीरोदशहस्रा गृहे
शेते शेषमुज्ज्ञभोगरचनापर्यक्षुष्टाप्रितः ।
कुष्ठिप्रान्तसमाप्तिविमुवनो नाम्युत्थताम्भोरुहो
(राही) श्रीजयवर्मणोप्रमहिंसी स स्वामिनीं रक्षतु ॥१ [32.p.01]

The said charter was issued by Kulaprabhavati, the chief queen of Jayavarman; the then king of Fu-nan.

Another Sanskrit inscription of Funan period that was found among the ruins of the temple called Prasat Pram Loven in the locality known as Thap Muoi in Vietnam, records the consecration

of a holy foot print of Lord Visnu, called Chakratirthasvamin, by king Gunavarman of Kaundinya lineage. The stelae is preserved in the Museum of History, Ho Chi Minh City.



**Fig 3. Prasat Pram Loven Inscription of Gunavarman,
Courtesy Museum of History, Saigon, March 2023**

Inscriptions of later period found in different parts of Cambodia including the Angkor region also mention veneration of Lord Vishnu. Few examples are cited below:

The Sanskrit text of an inscription dated 805 Saka (883 CE), engraved in temple B of Prasat Kok Po, about a mile to the north of the Western Baray, near Angkor Thom, begins with an invocation to Visnu as follows:

नमोस्तु चकिणे चक्रं पाणी यस्यातिलोहितम् ।
 देवकोपार्णिसंधातो दृप्तो युद्धं इवाहतः ॥१
 भाति श्रीपुण्डरीकाशो योऽह्नि सौन्दर्यं सम्पदा ।
 विनापि योगजगता साक्षादिम् पुरः स्थितः ॥२
 जितं श्रीकपिलार्घ्येण यस्येवं रूपमुत्तमम् ।
 नृणां दृष्टिवतान्नित्यं हृदयान्तरसंस्थितम् ॥३

[32.p.71]

The charter records installation of an image of Hari (Vishnu) in the year 779 Saka (857 CE), (vv. 9-10) and construction of a brick temple of Hari in the year 805 (=883 CE) (vv. 11-14). [32.p.70]

The Thvar Kdei Inscriptions of Rajendravarman-II, dated 874 Saka (952 CE) found in Steung Treng province of Cambodia, begins with an invocation to Vishnu who is worshipped under various names such as Vasudeva, Hari, Narayana, Madhvvari, and Paratman and is identified with mystic syllable Om. [32.p.220] ‘Angkor Wat inscription of king Jayavarman-V records that in the year 890 Saka (968 CE) the king on ascending the throne, ordered his general

(Senapati) Virendravarman to make a religious foundation (sthapana) dedicated to Lord Vishnu. This temple was situated in a locality then named as 'Kapilapura'. [32.p.277-8] The Sanskrit text of famous Sdok Kok Thom inscription also begins with invocation to Siva and Vishnu. [32.p.371]

Considering the Vaishnavite tradition in major parts of the newly conquered territory, particularly the sensible portions of Vietnam and Thailand that formed Suryavarman-II's domain, the Emperor might have opted to dedicate the majestic monument to Lord Vishnu. It was expected that such an initiative will ensue socio-cultural integration of the realm.

The Cultural Congruence

Scholars have suggested some sort of Indian influence in creating such a grand and supreme architectural masterpiece dedicated to Lord Vishnu in Cambodia. Considering the similarity in the development of Vaishnavism in the first half of the twelfth century, in two distinctly separated lands Kalinga and Kambuja, many historians advocate the existence of a strong cultural link between both of them. However, it is pertinent to quote the observations of eminent historian and Indologist Hermann Kulke, the then professor of South and Southeast Asian history at Kiel University, Germany in this regard:

“At the beginning of the twelfth century, King Suryavarman II (ca. 1113-50 CE) in Cambodia submitted to the “allure” of Vaishnavism at the same time as Anantavarman Chodaganga, king of Odisha (Kalinga), in eastern India. Both gave up the Saivite state religion of their fore-fathers and built their gigantic new state temples in honour of the god Vishnu. So, on either side of the Bay of Bengal, huge Vaishnavite temples appeared simultaneously--the Jagannatha temple of Puri, in Odisha, and the Angkor Wat. [30.p.40] Although without further evidence, it is impossible to decide whether these events had been mutually influenced, it is also difficult to assume that they happened by a mere coincidence.” [60.p.214]

Of late, some sources have proposed contribution of Chola dynasty in the construction of Angkor Wat. Undoubtedly, Cholas were a great maritime power having both conquering and conflict-ridden relationship with some of the Indianised kingdoms of Southeast Asia. But Chola rulers were mostly Saivite and intolerant to Vaishnavism. According to the celebrated historian of South India, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1958, the Chola king ‘Kulottunga II (1133-

1150 CE), who continued the renovation and extension of the temple at Chidambaram begun by his father, had removed the image of Govindaraja (Vishnu) from the courtyard of the Nataraja shrine and cast it into the sea. Ramanuja is said to have recovered it and enshrined it at Tirupati. It was restored to its original place long after by Ramaraya of Vijayanagar'. [59.p.186] Mr Sastri also wrote that 'the Cholas being ardent Saivas, did not view the growing influence of Ramanuja, the proponent of Shri-Vaishnava cult, with favour. [59.p.419] It is reported that Ramanuja and his disciples were subjected to persecution for which they had to leave Chola kingdom and moved to Hoysala kingdom of Karnataka till 1122 CE. In view of such reported repugnance of Chola king towards Vaishnavism, that too during the period of construction of Vishnu temple at Angkor, suggestion regarding their participation seems to be inappropriate and unwarranted.

The Name: Angkor and Puri

The name 'Angkor' is used by historians to refer to one of the major ancient capitals of Kambuja as well as for the world famous religious monument Angkor Wat. The original name of that ancient capital, founded by king Yashovarman-I (889-910 CE), was 'Yashodharapura'. [62.p.09] The temple built by Suryavarman-II (1113-1150), after two and half centuries, was located at the south-east corner of the capital city. [62.p.63] The original name of the temple now called Angkor Wat is yet to be known.

Researchers reveal that the name 'Angkor' has been derived from the Sanskrit word 'Nagara', meaning city. Initially the locals called it 'Nakor' that was later changed to 'Angkor'. In Cambodian language, the word 'Wat' refers to 'temple' or a place of worship. Thus 'Angkor Wat' means the 'city temple'. *Nagara* (*Nakor*) may also be a short form for the capital city. In later inscription, particularly after the construction of Vishnu temple, Yashodharapura is mentioned as a holy city. The Ta Prohm inscription of Jayavarman-VII, dated 1186 CE (1108 Saka) mentions the city name as '*Srimad-Yashodharapura*'. [32.p.462]

The name of the Jagannatha temple, Puri has undergone a series of changes. Initially, Emperor Anantavarman Chodagangadeva, who built the temple, addressed the deity as Purushottama and the place

as ‘Purushottama Kshetra’. In Hindu theology ‘Purushottama’ is a celebrated name for the Lord Vishnu. It stands for the Supreme-Purusha who fills the whole world with the form of Existence-Knowledge and Bliss. Over the period of time the place name Purushottama Kshetra got changed to ‘Purushottama Puri’, ‘Jagannatha Puri’ and finally shortened to ‘Puri’. ‘Puri’ is the dwelling city of ‘Purusha’; the Supreme Lord.

As such both the Sanskrit words ‘Puri’ and ‘Nagara’ (Angkor) have exactly the same meaning ‘city’. With reference to the temple city both stand for ‘the abode of the Lord’. It is surprising as to how such similar names were used by the people of Kambuja and Kalinga for both the Vaishnavite temples built in the twelfth century CE. It can’t be just accidental. Some sort of relationship might have existed between them.

CHAPTER 8

Tribhuvanesvara in Kalinga and Kambuja

Bhubaneswar, the capital city of Odisha (Kalinga), derives its name from the presiding deity of the place, Lord ‘Tribhuvanesvara’ now worshipped as Lord ‘Lingaraja’. A number of literary sources of early period such as *Ekamra Purana*, *Kapila Samhita*, *Swanadri Mahodaya* and *Ekamra Chandrika* inform that the place was the seat of the Saiva shrine ‘Tribhuvanesvara’; the Lord of three worlds, namely, earth, heaven, and netherworld.

Situated in 85° 50' East longitude, and 20° 15' North latitude, Bhubaneswar has a long history from ancient times. The recorded history of the place begins from the days of Mauryan emperor Asoka, who reigned in the third century BCE. One of Asoka's major rock edicts, known as ‘special Kalinga edict’ at Dhauli, on the outskirts of Bhubaneswar, is addressed to the high officials (*Mahamatras*) in charge of administration, for ensuring welfare and happiness of the people. Such royal orders point to existence of a regional capital of Asoka in or around Bhubaneswar. The Hathigumpha inscription of Kalinga emperor Mahameghavahana Aira Kharabela, of first century BCE, in Udayagiri hillock of Bhubaneswar, indicates that the emperor's capital ‘Kalinganagar’ was located at the archaeological site Sisupalgada, which is close to old Bhubaneswar.

Saivite tradition of Bhubaneswar is also reported from a hoary past. The Epic *Ekamra Purana* states the worship of Lord Siva as *Svayambhu* (Self emerged) Linga under a mango tree. This was the practice before the beginning of temple construction in the locality. [179.p.29] The construction of the temple in Bhubaneswar might have started before first century BCE. Hathigumpha inscription in its last line, which is reproduced below along with the translation, reports that emperor Kharabela not only respected all religious sects but also caused repair of all temples.

Extract of the Hathigumpha Inscription

17 guna-visesa-kusalo sava-pāśanha-pūjako sava-de[v-lyaj]tana-samkhāra-kārako [a]pathata-chaki-vāhini-balo chaka-dhura-guta-chako pavata-chako rājasī-Vastū-kula⁴¹.vīśiśito⁴² mahā-vijayo Rājā-Khāravela-siri[.]
[Symbol].

[178.p.80]

Translation

(L. 17) Accomplished in extraordinary virtues, respecter of every sect, the repairer of all temples, one whose chariot and army are irresistible, one whose empire is protected by the chief of the empire (himself), descended from the family of the royal sage Vasu, the great conqueror, the King, the illustrious Kharavela. [178.p.89]

However, the earliest temples that still exists in Bhubaneswar belong to the sixth century CE. Siva temples like Shatruughneswara, Bharateswara and Lakshmaneswara of old town Bhubaneswar have been estimated to be of 575 CE. [179.p.29]



Fig 1. Shatruughneswara Temple, Bhubaneswar

The temple for Tribhuvanesvara seems to have been built on or before sixth century CE. The present temple of Lord Lingaraja dates back to the last decade of the eleventh century. There is evidence that part of this temple was built during the sixth century CE as mentioned in some of the seventh century Sanskrit texts. Fragments of this earlier structure do seem to appear in the extant building. After construction of Tribhuvanesvara temple, Saivism gained great popularity and a large number of Siva temples were built in the area.



Fig 2. Lingaraja temple, Bhubaneswar

A number of epigraphic sources of Kambuja speak of the worship of Lord Tribhuvanesvara at a place now known as Koh Ker in Cambodia. The Sanskrit text of “Veal Kantel inscription” of Bhavavarman-I, in verse three, records the installation of an image of Lord Tribhuvanesvara by Shri Somasarma, a Brahmin well-versed in Sama-Veda. Verse one and two tell that Somasarma’s wife was the daughter of Viravarman and sister of Bhavavarman-I. [32.p.19] The relevant verses are reproduced below:

1. श्रीवीरवर्मदुहिता स्वसा श्रीभववर्मणः ।
पतिक्रता धर्मरता द्वितीयारुन्धतीव या ॥
2. हिरण्यवर्मजननी यस्ता पत्नीमुषावहत् ।
द्विजेन्दुराकृनिम्बामी सामवेदविदग्रणीः ॥
3. श्रीसोमशर्मार्किण्डुं स श्रीत्रिमुखेश्वरम् ।
अतिष्ठिपन महापूजामतिपुष्कलदक्षिणाम् ॥ [32.p.19]

As the reign of King Bhavavarman-I has been estimated to the mid-sixth century CE, it is supposed that the temple of Tribhuvanesvara was built in Kambuja during that period.

Another Sanskrit inscription, found in the Prasat Thom temple of Koh Ker, records the donations of king Jayavarman-IV to God Tribhuvanesvara who has made him king of kings. The charter was issued in 921 CE (843 Saka) and thus indicates that Jayavarman-IV had been crowned as king by that date with his capital at Koh Ker.

The Prasat Thom inscription, partly illegible, contains three Sanskrit verses. The last line of first verse, as shown below, mentions the name of the place as “*Tribhuvanesvara Dham*”.

श्रीसिद्धि स्वर्णित जय ।
 योऽनादिगदिगविलम्ब्य चतुर्मुखादे
 छिंवसृ ॒ ननुरष्ट तनूस्तनोनि ।
 — — ॑ — ॒ — ॒ — ॒ — ॒ —
 — — ॑ — ॒ स्त्रभुवनेश्वर नाम धामे ॥ १ [32.p.165]

“Dhama” in Sanskrit refers to a sacred place of pilgrimage and also the seat of the shrine. So far we have not come across with the Sanskrit name of Koh Ker. The ‘Sdok Kak Thom Stele inscription’ of king Udayadityavarman-II, dated 1052 CE name the place as Chok Gargyar in Khmer language. Maybe the place was called Tribhuvanesvara Dhama during Kambuja period.

Some historians are of the view that Jayavarman-IV left Yashodharapura and established a new capital at Koh Ker on ascending the throne in 928 CE (850 Saka). They postulate that Angkor (Yashodharapura) was abandoned at the beginning of the reign of Jayavarman-IV, and a new city Koh Ker was created from scratch. [132.p.124] But the fact remains that king Yasovarman-I (889-910 CE) ruling from Yashodharapura died around 910 CE. He was succeeded in turn by two of his sons, Harsavarman-I (910-922 CE) and Ishanavarman-II (922-928 CE). However, by 921 CE, Jayavarman-IV, a brother of one of Yasovarman-I’s wives, crowned himself as the king in the city of Koh Ker. He began to perform kingly actions, such as building a reservoir and constructing temples. In 928 CE, when the reigning king died at Yashodharapura, the Koh Ker ruler proclaimed himself as king of Kambuja and transferred the royal court and administrative functions to Koh Ker. Later in 944 CE, Rajendravarman-II on ascending the throne of Kambuja shifted the royal court to the city of Yashodharapura. [46.p.53]

Jayavarman-IV constructed a number of temples as well as civil structures, ponds, dykes, and roads during his reign. The most significant of his monuments is the Prasat Thom complex, where the seven-tiered pyramid, also known as Prasat Prang, surpassed all previous temples in size and scale. This temple, housing a Linga estimated to have been eighteen meters (fifty-nine feet) high and about five meters (sixteen feet) in diameter (and probably made of metal, or encased in metal, for it has disappeared), was in fact the highest of the temples erected in Cambodia, with the exception of Angkor Wat. [46.p.53] This monument probably served as the state temple of that period.

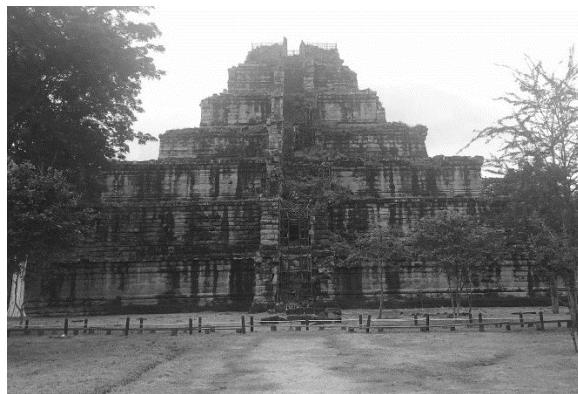


Fig 3. Prasat Thom/Prang, Koh Ker, Cambodia

Regarding settlement history of Koh Ker, a study was conducted by Tegan Hall et al of The University of Sydney, Australia, using palaeo-ecological and geo-archaeological techniques and the report was published in 2018. They suggest that the settlement of the Koh Ker region may in fact extend back to the prehistoric period whereas the habitation in the city may date back to the pre-Angkor period- at least to 500 CE. [131.p.02] The city was not abandoned after the shifting of royal court to Yashodharapura in 944 CE. The study also indicates that construction of monuments have begun as early as the late seventh century C.E. [131.p.21] Some of the old temples in the area seems to have comparison with the sixth or seventh century temple architecture.



Fig 4. An Old temple of Koh Ker

The structure has much resemblance with the sixth century monuments of Bhubaneswar.

The issue to contemplate is how both Kalinga and Kambuja embraced the divinity of Saiva shrine “Trībhuvanesvara”, almost around the same period. In about sixth/seventh century CE temples for the deity were constructed at both the places, which became popular centres of pilgrimage for the Hindus. Later great temples were built for the deity by illustrious sovereigns that surpassed all the previous monuments. The Prasat Thom/Prang of Kambuja housed the largest Linga of paramount eminence whereas the temple at Bhubaneswar was named as Lingaraja, the King of the Lingas. The incidents make us to believe existence of intimate association between Kalinga and Kambuja.

CHAPTER 9

Kalingga Kingdom of Indonesia

Indonesia, with its diverse and multicultural population is known for its natural beauty and rich cultural heritage. The strategic geographical position of the country has profoundly influenced the maritime trade since hoary antiquity. Having more than 17,500 islands, Indonesia is considered as world's largest archipelago. Of these, the five main islands are: Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Papua. Besides being the home of rare spices, the country is blessed with abundance of mineral resources such as nickel, tin, coal, copper and gold. Its location within ten degree latitude of the equator, has ensured a climate of warm summer throughout the year and the only change of seasons is from dry to wet. The region is on the influence of the monsoons but free from hurricanes. The sea-lanes of Indonesia such as the Sunda Strait on the north-west and Bali strait to the east connects the Java Sea with the Indian Ocean that stretch as far as the Antarctica without intermediary land mass. Major islands of this country offer ideal maritime base to pursue trade with China, the Arabs and Roman Empire; and thus had lured the Indian seafarers from ancient period.

Indian interaction with Indonesia has been indicated in old Sanskrit literature particularly the epic *Ramayana*. Some historians, on the basis of Chinese sources, report that a king of Java, with Sanskrit name Devavarman, had sent an embassy to China in 132 CE. [29.p.100] However, the earliest Indianised epigraphic evidence of Indonesia is a set of Sanskrit inscriptions found in Kutai, East Kalimantan, near the Mahakam river. Those have been named as 'Mulavarman Inscription' or Prasasti Mulawarmman in Indonesian. The inscriptions are engraved on stone sacrificial pillars (*yupa*). The following is a summary of these inscriptions:

1. King Mulavarman has done many virtuous acts and made generous gifts of animals, land, gold and other things to Brahmins who have set up this pillar.

2. King Kundunga had a famous son Asvavarman, who, like the Sun (Amsuman), was the originator of the family. Of the three sons of Asvavarman, the eldest was king Sri-Mulavarman, noted for his asceticism, who performed a sacrifice called Bahu-Suvarnakam (much-gold). [29.p.126] These inscriptions have been referred on paleographic grounds to the fourth century CE.

Another set of four Sanskrit rock inscriptions found in java have been estimated to be of the fifth century CE. These were issued by king Purnavarman (Raja Purnawarmman) whose capital was at Tarumanagar (city of Taruma), which has been located near modern Batavia. In one of these records named as 'Ciaruton inscription' (Prasasti Ciaruteun) he is described as the valiant lord of the earth. The transcript and translation of the short charter are as under:

(1) विक्रान्तस्यावनिपते: (2) श्रीमह: पूर्ववर्मणः १
 (3) तारुमनगरेन्द्रस्य (4) विष्णोरिव पदशयम् ॥—२ [107.p.24]

Translation:

"Of the valiant lord of the earth the illustrious Purnavarman, the lord of the city of Taruma, (this is) the pair of foot (prints) like unto Vishnu's."



Fig 1. Prasasti Ciaruteun

Courtesy National Museum of Indonesia, Jakarta, March 2015

Another charter of king Purnavarman, known as 'Tugu rock inscription' (Prasasti Tugu) describes his father as '*rajadhiraja guru*'; who formerly had dug the 'Chandrabhaga' (a canal) that reached the

ocean after passing by the capital city. It also mentions that king Purnavarman himself, in the twenty-second year of his reign, dug the charming river ‘Gomati’ which passed through the camping ground of his grandfather, (*pitamaha*), described as ‘*rajarsi*’, or royal sage. The king presented a thousand cows to the Brahmans as *dakshina*, (sacrificial fees for the ritual). Transcript of the charter is furnished below:

- (1) पुरा राजाधिराजेन गुल्मा १ पीनवाहुशा
स्त्राता स्वातां पुरी^(१) २ प्राप्य (२) चन्द्रभागाशर्णवं यमौ ॥
प्रवर्द्धमानद्वार्विषद्वत्सरः^(३) श्रीगुण्डोजसा
नरेन्द्रध्वजभूतेन^(४) (५) श्रीमता पूरार्थवर्मणा ॥
प्रारम्भ फालगुने^(६) मासि स्त्राता कृष्णाष्टमीतिथौ^(७)
चेन्नाशुक्रऋग्योदशयाम् दिनैस्सदै कविकृष्णकै[ः]
(4) आयता चट्टसहन्तेण घनुषाखा^(८) स-शतेन च
द्वाविहशेन नदी रम्या गोमती निर्मलोदका ॥
पितामहस्य राजर्वेभिर्वदार्य शिविरावनिम्^(९)
(5) ब्राह्मणौरगोंसहन्तेना^(१०) प्रयाति कृतदक्षिणः^(११) (?) ॥

[107.p.26]

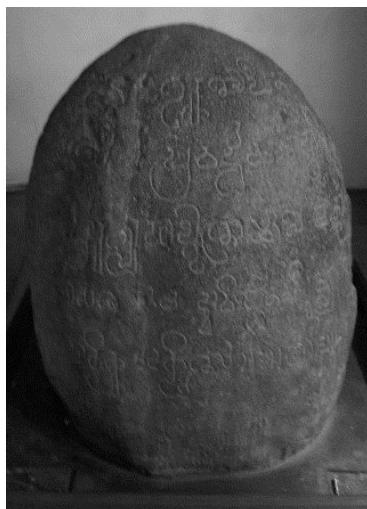


Fig 2. Prasasti Tugu

Courtesy National Museum of Indonesia, Jakarta, March 2015

The evidences furnished by the Sanskrit inscriptions of king Mulavarman and that of king Purnavarman leave no doubt that the Indians had settled in Indonesia much before the fourth century CE

and established their political authority in the archipelago around that time. This has been substantiated by the travel record of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien, who reached West Java from Sri Lanka sometimes during 414-5 CE. 'Fa-hien writes that in this country there were many Brahmins but that the Buddhist religion here was not of sufficient importance to be worth mentioning. Then he mentions that after a short stay he sailed for Canton in 413 CE in a merchant vessel which had 200 Hindu traders on board.' [107.p.02]

All the inscriptions of Purnavarman were found in Java. The charter Tugu, as presented above describes princely activities of king Purnavarman, his father and also refers to his grandfather. Thus there is every possibility that the members of the family, to which Purnavarman belonged, had established their rule in Java for three previous generations. The writing in Sanskrit language, reference to Hindu deities, practice of Indian almanac for the months, and dates (*tithies*), observance of Hindu rituals like donating a thousand cows to the Brahmins as sacrificial fees (*dakshina*) would suggest that Indian culture was deeply rooted in Java by fifth century CE, or even before that. 'Adoption of geographical names, such as *Candrabhaga* and *Gomati*, not only indicates a familiarity with Indian geography, but clearly testifies to the existence of an Indian element in the settled population. The king also bears a purely Indian name, without any additional Javanese element, such as the ones in vogue in later times.' [29.p.109]

The kingdom of Kalingga

Epigraphic sources regarding the extent of Purnavarman's kingdom in Java and details of his successors are, so far, not available. However, the annals of the T'ang period of China (618-906 CE) inform the existence of an Indianised kingdom named Ho-ling in java. 'Ho-ling' has been generally admitted as the Chinese transcription for Indonesian kingdom 'Kalingga', the name derived from the ancient Indian kingdom of Kalinga. It appears that Java was named after Kalinga for few centuries in the history. Such a naming would suggest that the people from ancient Indian kingdom Kalinga had migrated and settled in Java, amalgamated with local people and were able to ascend to such prominence that they could name the new settlement with the name of their native province.

T'ang dynasty ruled China for about three hundred years starting from the early seventh century CE. The reign of this imperial dynasty

is considered as the golden age of cosmopolitan culture in Chinese history. Their dominating presence both in Indian Ocean and in the Silk Route not only brought commercial prosperity for the nation but also obliged foreign countries to send missions to establish trade links with China. One such country “Ho-ling” has been reported to have sent missions from Java to the T’ang court.

R. C. Majumdar, 1937, assumes that the kingdom of Kalinga existed in Java from an early period, but it only attained political importance, and came to be the leading state in Java, during the T’ang period. [29.p.112] R. B. Cribb and Robert Cribb, 2000, in their publication ‘*Historical Atlas of Indonesia*’, place ‘Ho-ling’ as a kingdom of the sixth century vintage in central Java. [181.p.75] However, according to the history of T’ang dynasty ‘Ho-ling had sent two series of missions to China; the first was in 640, 648, and 666 CE, and the second in 768, 769, 770, 813, 815, and 818 CE. Thereafter the name Ho-ling disappears and is replaced by *Shé-p’o*, which sent missions in 820, 831, 839, CE and after a break in 860-873 CE.’ [41.p.214] *Shé-p’o* or *Chō-p’o* (French system), in T’ang period was pronounced as *Dz’ia-b’uā*, which would mean “Java or Java.”

The annals of T’ang dynasty has been compiled in two classic historical works; the “*Chiu T’ang shu*” or *Old Book of Tang* and the “*HsinT’ang shu*” or *New Book of Tang*. The New Book of T’ang provides some details about Ho-ling as under:

“Ho-ling, it is also called *Shé-p’o* and *Shé-p’o* [the *Shé-* is represented by different characters]. It is in the southern ocean. To its east lies *P’o-li*. To its west lies *To-p’o-teng*. Its south is adjacent to the southern ocean and its north to *Chen-la* [Cambodia]. The city wall is made of wood. Though the buildings are large, they are also covered. The couches are made of ivory and resemble mats. The country produces tortoise shell, yellow and white gold, rhinoceros, and elephants. The country is exceedingly rich. They also use the flowers of the coconut palm for wine. When one drinks (this wine) one may then become intoxicated. In the mountains there are caves from which salt oozes out. The people of this country collect the salt and eat it. They have a script and understand astronomy. When they eat they do not use spoons and chopsticks. The ruler lives in the [capital] city of *Shé-p’o*. His ancestor *Chi-yen* moved eastwards to the city of *P’o-lu-chia-ssū*. On the borders [of Ho-ling] there are 28 small countries, all of which owe allegiance to Ho-ling. There are 32 great ministers and the *Ta-tso-kan-hsiung* is the chief of them. On the top of a mountain there is the province of *Lang-pi-ya*. The ruler frequently ascends this mountain to gaze at the sea.” [41.p.216]

The first series of missions from Ho-ling to T'ang court was in the seventh century CE. It is reported that by the seventh century CE, Ho-ling had grown into an important naval and commercial power. Apart from China, it had established trade links with the kingdoms of north Indian Emperor Harshavardhan and south Indian Emperor Pulakeshin-II. [184.p.191]

The Indomitable Queen Si-ma

Besides its commercial progress, Ho-ling was expanding as an important territorial power in the region. The neighbouring states were scared of its strength. In the third quarter of seventh century the people of Ho-ling (probably meaning the stronger faction of the royal clan) had chosen an influential woman for the throne. Her authority, fidelity, fame and potency spread far and wide. The *New Book of Tang* dynasty (*The Hsin T'ang shu*) describes the story of the illustrious queen as follows:

“In 674-5 CE the people of this country took as their ruler a woman of the name Si-ma. Her rule was most excellent. Even things dropped on the road were not picked up. The Prince of the Arabs (the Arab colony that existed on the western coast of Sumatra from an early date), hearing of this, sent a bag with gold to be laid down within her frontiers. The people who passed that road avoided it in walking, and it remained there for three years. Once the heir-apparent stepped over that gold and Si-ma became so incensed that she wanted to kill him. Her ministers interceded and then Si-ma said: ‘Your fault lies in your feet, therefore it will be sufficient to cut them off’. The ministers interceded again, and she had his toes cut off, in order to give an example to the whole nation. When the prince of Tazi heard this, he became afraid and dared not attack her.” [29.p.113]

The story referring to a particular year seems to have some amount of reality. During the reign of queen Si-ma, Ho-ling was not only powerful but expanded its domain with control over bordering chiefs. Such evidences come from I-tsing's record which provides the most reliable information about the island countries of that region.

I-tsing stayed in Srivijaya for two terms, first in 671 CE for six months, and after a break, for about seven years from 688 CE to 695 CE, studying and translating the original Buddhist scriptures and Sutras. With his experience of the geography of the region during that period, he mentioned the names of twelve kingdoms, which he calls ‘the Islands of the Southern Sea’. These countries enumerated from the west to the east are: 1. Fo-lu-shi Island (Pulushih), 2. Mo-lo-yu Country (Malayu), 3. Shih-li-fo-shih Country (Srivijaya), 4. Mo-ho-

hsin Island (Mahasin), 5. Ho-ling Island, (Kalingga), 6. Tan-tan Island (Natuna), 7. P'en-p'en Island (Pem-pen), 8. P'o-li Island (Bali), 9. K'u-lun Island (Pulo Condore), 10. Fo-shih-pu-lo Island (Bhogapura), 11. A-shan Island (O-shan) and 12. Mo-chia-man Island (Maghaman). [136.p.39]

The list indicates that, in the seventh century, there was one major realm, *Mo-bo-hsin*, between Srivijaya and Ho-ling, and two toponyms, *Tan-tan* and *P'en-p'en*, between Ho-ling and Bali. But the situation changed subsequently. Both the *Old* and *New Book of Tang* dynasty, while reporting the eighth century revival of Ho-ling's missions to China, puts the position of neighbouring county *P'o-li* (Bali) immediately to the east of Ho-ling. It would suggest that the two kingdoms *Tan-tan* and *P'en-p'en*; that existed in the list of I-tsing, have been subjugated by Ho-ling extending its eastern limit close to Bali. This period of expansion coincides with the hegemony of Queen Si-ma. [184.p.195-6]

The Glorious Sovereigns of Kalinnga

During the seventh and eighth century CE Kalingga ruled supreme. Though around the same period, another Indianised kingdom Srivijaya, could secure a commanding position on the straits of Malacca and intended to influence much of the Southeast Asian maritime trade in the region, Kalingga (Ho-ling) continued to ignore Srivijaya's supremacy. It prospered under distinguished sovereigns, who left significant and magnificent monuments in Java. The Javanese epigraphic sources reveal the appearance of worthy personalities and new regimes during the eighth century whose achievements still sing the archaeological and architectural expertise and excellence of Indonesia. Three inscriptions from the Kalingga region (central Java): Prasasti 'Canggal' of 732 CE, lauds the heroic regime of Saivite Sanjaya whereas Prasasti 'Kalasan' of 778 CE and 'Kelurak' of 782 CE report on the glorious reign of Mahayanist Sailendras.

Saivite realm of Sanjaya

The earliest dated inscription of Java known as Prasasti 'Canggal or Janggal' was discovered in the central part of the island among the ruins of Gunung Wukir temple complex in Kadiluwih village, to the southeast of Chandi Borobudur. This Sanskrit inscription was issued

by king Sanjaya on the sixth October, 732 CE (654 Saka) on the consecration of a Siva Linga.



**Fig 3. Prasasti Canggal
As displayed in National Museum of Indonesia,
Jakarta, under the inventory number D.04**

This charter is composed of 12 verses. Verse 1, as given below, records that in Saka era 654, in the month of *Kartika*, on Monday, on the thirteenth day of the bright half, in the *Bhadra* (*naksatra*), *kumbha lagna*, the illustrious king (*Narapati*) Sri Sanjaya established on the hill a Linga with auspicious marks for attaining peace and tranquility of the nation. [107.II.p.32]

शाकेन्द्रे तिगते श्रुतीन्द्रियरसरङ्गीकृते वस्त्रे
 धारेन्द्रै धवलग्रयोदणितिथौ भद्रोत्तरे कातिके [।]
 लाने कुम्भमये स्थिराङ्गविदिते प्रातिष्ठिपत्पञ्चते
 लिङ्गं लक्षणलक्षितशरपतिज्ञीसञ्चयशास्त्रये [॥ 1 ॥] [107.p.30]

Incidentally for the people of Odisha (ancient Kalinga) lunar month *Kartika* is traditionally a sacred month during which they observe penance to commemorate Kalinga's maritime heritage. Mondays of that month is especially dedicated to the worship of Lord Siva. Sanjaya's ceremony was celebrated on the auspicious Monday of *Kartika*. Perhaps king Sanjaya was influenced by the tradition of Kalinga.

In verses two to six, prayers were offered to Lord Siva to protect the country, remove darkness and bestow abundant measure of bliss.

Lord Brahma was invoked to grant success in achieving *dharma*, *artha* and *kama* in this world. Sripati (Lord Vishnu) was worshipped to bestow prosperity.

Verse seven of the charter provides important insight on the history of the island kingdom. The transcript and translation of the verse are furnished below:

Transcript

आसीहीपवर्य यवाल्यमतुल-[न्वान्या=] सम्पज्जं कनकाकरैस्तदमरे- -[दिनो=] पार्जिसम् ॥ श्रीमत्कुन्जरकुन्जदेशनिहि[तं व-] स्थानन्दिव्यतमं शिवाय जगतश्च- [म्भो] स्तु यत्राद्भुतम् ॥ [7॥]	दिवीजाधिकं पार्जिसम् ॥ इषादितीवाचर्त [107.p.31]
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Translation:

(V. 7) There was an excellent island called Java incomparable, which contained an abundance of grains such as rice and others, which was possessed of gold mines and which was acquired.. .by the Gods. There was the wonderful and most excellent place (i.e. temple) of Siva tending to the welfare of the world, which was supplied as it were from the family settled in the illustrious land of Kunjarakunja. [107.p.34]

The beginning of the seventh verse “*aasid dvipabaram*” (**आसीहीपवर्य**) meaning ‘there was a glorious island by the name Java’ clearly signals that the name of the island kingdom has been changed to Kalingga prior to Sanjaya’s incumbency. Similarly verse eight starting with”*tasmin dvipe Javakshye*” (**तस्मिन्द्वीपे यवाल्ये**) meaning -in that island called Java-; would suggest the change of name. According to Hall, 2011, ‘Ho-ling corresponded to Sanjaya’s realm in time and place.’ [24.p.122]

Verse eight to twelve describe the genealogy and glory of king Sanjaya. In short it states that the prosperous country was ruled by an illustrious king named Sanna, who loved his subjects as a father loves his child. On his death, he was succeeded by Raja Sri Sanjaya, the son of Sannaha, the sister of Sanna. Sanjay ruled the kingdom righteously, conquered many neighbouring countries and his fame spread far and wide.

The valour of Sri Sanjaya as referred to in the inscription is corroborated by literary sources. The Sundanese chronicle called ‘*Carita Parahyangan*’, composed around late sixteenth century, provides a long list of countries conquered by king Sanjay. The legend speaks that after subjugating Java and Bali, “Sanjaya proceeded to the Malayu

country; he fought with Kemir (Khmer), the *rahyang* Gana is defeated. Again he fought with Keling, sang Sri-Vijaya is defeated. He fought with Barus, ratu Jayadana is defeated. He fought with China, pati Srikaladarma is defeated. Then *rahyang* Sanjaya returned from his oversea expedition to Galuh". [29.p.230] The chronicle *Carita Parahyangan* also relates king Sanjaya as the great-grandson of Holling's renowned Queen Si-ma.

King Sanjaya's consecration of Siva Linga, in association with a mountain, is attested to establishing his legitimacy on the ground of the widely held Saivite cults previously associated with the Dieng Plateau. This region, the core of the Javanese Saivite tradition, was proclaimed to be a blessed Mountain of the Gods and a mystical center for the worship of deities.

Holy land of Dieng Plateau

Diengplateau, the center of earliest Hindu temples complex in Indonesia is located near Wonosobo in Central Java at an elevation of 2150 meters and surrounded by hills on almost all sides. Name Dieng was derived from the old time 'Di Hyang' that represents the Sanskrit *Devalaya*, meaning "residence of the gods." [23.p.295] The religious structures of this plateau have many features of Indian Hindu temple architecture and are supposed to be originated during Kalingga period of Java. These are the oldest surviving temples of Java.

The main temples cluster is located in the central area of the plateau, consisting of four temples standing in a line from north to south. These are called Candi Arjuna, Candi Srikanthi, Candi Puntadewa, and Candi Sembadra, all facing west. Right in front of Arjuna temple there is a fifth, Candi Semar, which faces east. Other isolated temples in the plateau are named Candi Dvaravati, Candi Gatotkaca, Candi Bima (Bhima), Candi Parikesit (Parikshita), Candi Nga-Kula (Nakula) and Candi Sadevo (Sahadeva). Some of them are fallen into ruin. The names of these temples are borrowed from the characters of the *Mahabharata*, Puntadewa, being a Javanese name for Yudhisthira. [93.p.172]

Some historians opine that the roof structure of the Dieng temple corresponds exactly to that of a typical Indo-Aryan *Sikhara*, such as that of the seventh century CE Parasuramesvara temple of Bhubaneswar, Odisha. [93.p.175] However, there are also a group of temples of the same period named after the characters of the Hindu epic *Mahabharata* such as Kunti, Yudhisthira and Bhima; on the

summit of Mount Mahendra in Odisha, from Kalinga period. The simple design and small dimension of these monuments of Mahendra compare well with the Dieng temples of Java. Perhaps the sacred legacy of Mount Mahendra was quite popular during Kalingga (Ho-ling) period of Java. This is further corroborated by the choice of Kambuja king Jayavarman-II to consecrate a Siva Linga on Mahendra Parvata (Phnom Kulen) of Cambodia in 802 CE. King Jayavarman-II is said to have gone from Java, established the Kambuja Empire and freed it from the clutches of Java. This was the period when Java continued to be named as Kalingga (Ho-ling) and Jayavarman-II was aware of the divine mysticism associated with Mount Mahendra of Kalinga (Odisha).

A general view of the architectural remains of Dieng indicates that it was a holy place of pilgrimage rather than a town with a considerable number of settled population. We learn from the Chinese accounts that the king of Java visited it once a year, and presumably the nobles and other classes of people made occasional pilgrimages to this holy place. [93.p.176]

Sailendras in Kalingga

After the reign of heroic Sanjaya in Kalingga (Ho-ling) we do not find any substantial evidence regarding his successors in Central Java. However, a Sanskrit inscription of 760 CE (682 Saka) discovered at Dinoyo (Dinaya) near Malang city of East Java refers to a Saivite king Devasimha and his son Gajayana, also called Limwa. The charter informs that King Devasimha worshipped Siva in the form of a *linga* named *Putikesvara*, as the embodiment of the essence of royalty. Gajayana, on ascending the throne after the death of his father, protected the people as if they were his own sons. He, a benefactor of Brahmans, caused construction of a black stone image of Rishi Agastya through his nobles and ascetics. [107.p.35]

The royal establishment of king Devasimha in East Java reported in Dinoyo inscription is corroborated by a statement from Chinese sources, regarding ‘transfer of the capital from Central Java to East Java by a king *Chi-yen* between 742 and 755 CE.’ [23.p.90] Such change of seat of political authority might have been triggered by advent of another powerful dynasty in Kalingga (Ho-ling) of Central Java compelling the previous dynasty to move eastwards. King Devasimha of Dinoyo inscription being a staunch Saivite probably belonged to Sanjaya’s dynasty, which shifted to the East Java. And by

the mid-eighth century the Sailendras, adherents of Mahayana Buddhism, occupied the prosperous Kalingga of Central Java. Construction of temple for Goddess Tara, building a monastery for Buddhist monks, donating a village to Buddhist monastic community and issue of the charter Prasasti Kalasan for protection of the temple by future kings, demonstrates the rule of illustrious Sailendras in Central Java that is still named as Kalingga.

This inscription named Prasasti Kalasan was discovered in village Kalasan situated some 13 km east of Yogyakarta. Presently, the charter is displayed in the National Museum of Indonesia, Jakarta, under the inventory number D.147.

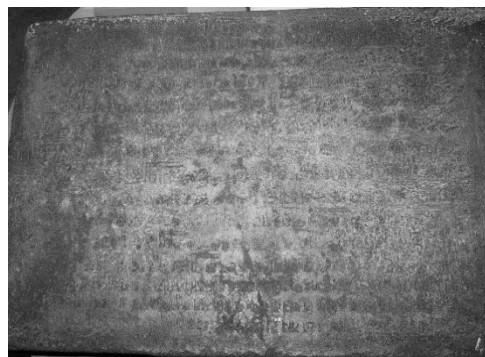


Fig 4. Prasasti Kalasan

The charter begins with the adoration of Goddess Arya-Tara – “*Namo Bhagavatyai Āryātārāyai*”, followed by twelve verses in Sanskrit language. The record informs that in Saka era 700 (778 A.D.), Maharaja Panamkarana, on the advice and guidance of the royal preceptor of the Sailendra family (*Sailendra rajagurubhil*), built a splendid temple for the Buddhist deity Tara. The image of goddess Tara was carved by expert artisans at the command of the royal-preceptor and a monastery was established for monks (*Bhikshus*) professing Mahayana sect (*vinaya Mahayana vidam*). When the country was ruled by the jewels of Sailendra dynasty (*rajye pravarddbamane rajah Sailendra ramsa tilakasya*), the temple of Tara was built for the worship of the royal preceptor (*Gurupujaratham*).

The king also made the grant of village Kalasana in favour of the *Sangha* (Buddhist community) for the maintenance of the temple and monastery in presence of the noble chiefs (*desadhyaksan-mahapurusan*) namely Pangkura, Tavana and Tirisha as witnesses. Maharaja Panamkarana declared the shrine as a common property and “the

bridge of religion” (*(dharma setub)*). He appealed to all the future kings, again and again, for protection and maintenance of the temple and the *vihara* for all times. [184.p.201]



**Fig 5. The ruin of the temple of Tara, now known as
Chandi Kalasan, March, 2015**

Analytical reading of Prasasti Kalasan would indicate the followings:

- By the mid eighth century CE, an important political change had arisen in Central Java.
- Mahayanist Sailendras have implanted their ascendancy by replacing the Saivite dynasty that moved to the east.
- Verse five of the inscription that speaks of the temple of Tara constructed in prosperous kingdom of the jewel of Sailendra family, (*rajye pravarddhamane rajnah Sailendra ramsatilakasya*) endorses Sailendras, sovereignty in Central Java.
- However, the charter does not mention the name of the kingdom in any of its twelve verses. At the same time, the Chinese sources report continuity of missions from Ho-ling (Kalingga). This would ratify that the name of the kingdom Kalingga (Ho-ling) for Java prevailed during Sailendra supremacy.

- That the country under Sailendras was prosperous and expanding.
- The king calls the shrine ‘as a common property’ and “the bridge of religion” (*dharma setub*). In fact the goddess Tara, a Buddhist deity is also venerated by the Hindus.

The Hindu-Buddhist Theology in Java and Odisha

The eighth century CE introduced a unique religious tradition both in Java (Kalingga) and Odisha (Toshali) that embraced the doctrines of Mahayana Buddhism and Saivite Hinduism. This is the period when the illustrious Sailendras ruled over Kalingga (Ho-ling) and the Bhaumakara dynasty reigned over a major part of Odisha which they named as Toshali. Epigraphic records of both these dynasties, though reigning over regions seas apart, accentuates the adoration and benefaction of the Hindu-Buddhist divinity. Each of them is discussed separately here.

In Central Java a Sanskrit inscription was discovered near Lumbung temple in Kelurak village, to the north of Siva temple complex at Prambanan. It has been named after the find place, as ‘Prasasti Kelurak’. The charter was issued on 26 September, 782 CE (704 Saka) by a king of Sailendra dynasty. Presently, the inscription is displayed in National Museum of Indonesia, Jakarta, under the inventory number D.44.

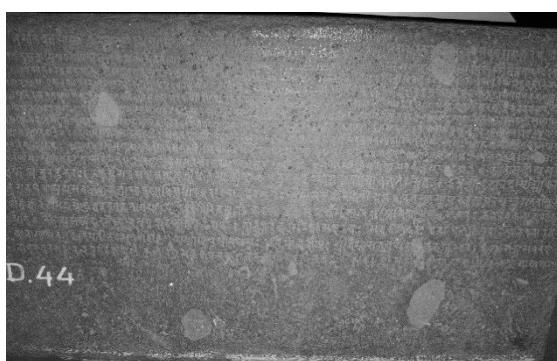


Fig 6. Prasasti Kelurak

The charter begins with ‘*Namo Ratnatrayaya*’, a salutation to THREE JEWELS of Buddhism, the Buddha, the Dharma and the

Sangha. It contains twenty verses in different metres. The summary of the content from historical point of view is as under:

First two verses are devoted to invocation and salutation of a number of deities with names ending with 'Isvara', signifying lord Siva. Verse three is unintelligible. Then, it says, that the world is supported by the heroic king named *Dharanindra*, a jewel of Sailendra dynasty (*Sailendra-vamsa-tilaka*), whose policy was well-guided by officials such as the *samantas*, *mantris*, and *patis*. He crushed many of the great hostile warriors (*vvari vara vira vimardana*) and his valour was established by the conquest of countries in all directions.

In Saka year 704 (782 CE), the royal preceptor named Kumaraghosa installed an image of *Manjusri* and declared the shrine as the 'pillar of glory and unparalleled bridge of religion', (*kirttistambho'yan atulo Dharmasetub anuttamah*) established for the welfare of the world and for the protection of all creatures. In this deity the Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha (Tri-Ratna) could be seen to be ever present in a hidden form. This *Manjusri* is also Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesvara, in fact, all gods in one.

Adoration of 'TRIRATNA'- the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha; and of 'TRINATHA' the Brahma, Vishnu, Mahesvara- speaks of a distinctive 'Hindu-Buddhist' culture that was brought in to practice by Sailendras in Javanese Kalingga. Mahayana form of Buddhism, impregnated with Saivite Hinduism, and culminating in Vajrayana and Tantrayana, made spectacular progress throughout the kingdom. [184.p.207]

As discussed earlier, during the same period, an identical Buddhist culture, with strong admixture of Hindu element, was the established ritualistic practice in Odisha- the mainland Kalinga. In the eighth century, major part of Odisha was ruled by the Bhaumakara dynasty, which professed and patronized Mahayana Buddhism. Before Sailendras occupied Javanese Kalingga in about 750 CE, king Sivakaradeva-I, the son of Kshemankaradeva, founded the Bhaumakara dynasty in Odra country (Odisha) in 736 CE. This royal family traces their ancestry to the Buddhist king Guhasiva of Kalinga, who worshipped the 'Tooth Relic' of the Buddha and transferred it to Sri Lanka in the fourth century CE. Bhaumakaras named their kingdom as 'Toshali', the name that was christened by the Buddhist Emperor Asoka in the third century BCE at Dhauli major rock edict near Bhubaneswar.

Toshali under the Bhaumakaras included Midnapore of West Bengal in the north (Dandabhukti mandala) and extended upto Mahendragiri in the south. It was divided into North Toshali and South Toshali with the River Mahanadi as the dividing line. Guhadeva Pataka or Guhesvara Pataka located to the north of River Vaitarani not far-from Jajpur was their capital. [02.p.109]

Bhaumakaras ruled Odisha for about 200 years. The rulers of the family have declared their allegiance, time and again, to both Buddhism and Saivite Hinduism. Though most of the Bhaumakara kings were ardent devotees of the Buddha, their queens used to worship Lord Siva and Vishnu. The legacy of their patronage to Hindu-Buddhist theology is discernible from the copper-plate inscriptions issued by the rulers. As many as twenty-four epigraphic records of the Bhaumakara period have been discovered so far, which include nineteen copper-plates and five stone inscriptions.

The noteworthy Bhaumakara record is the 'Neulpur grant' is restated here. The charter was discovered from the Zamindar of Darppan of Cuttack District in March 1914 CE. This copper-plate inscription in Sanskrit language, was deciphered by Dr. R. D. Banerji, and published in '*Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XV, (1919-1920), of Archaeological Survey of India, 1982. It was issued by King Sri Subhakaradeva-I (780-800 CE), the second in line of Bhaumakara dynasty, on the 23rd day of *Margasirsha*, in Bhauma-Samvat 54 (790 CE). It declares the king as *parama-sangatah* 'entirely devoted to the Buddha', his father, king Sri-Sivakaradeva-I (736-780CE) as *paramatathagatah* 'a devout worshipper of the Tathagata i.e. Buddha' and his grandfather Sri-Kshemankaradeva, as a *paramopasaka* 'a dedicated lay Buddhist'. However, the king donated two villages, namely *Parvata droni*, Komaparaka and Dandankiyoka, in favour of two hundred Brahmans of various *gotras*, wellversed in the four Vedas. [182.p.05] A stone inscription found in Hamsesvara temple of village Sadasivapur near Jaipur town reveals that his queen Madhavadevi built the Madhavesvara Siva Temple and appointed a *Sainacharya* for the worship of the deity. [02.p.111] Sri Subhakaradeva-I is revered by his successors to have constructed many Buddhist monasteries during his reign. It is reported that Rahularuchi or Rahulabhadra, the eminent priest of Nalanda had visited the capital of Subhakardev-I. The incised inscription on the back-slab of Padmapani image found at Khadipada, a place close to Bhaumakara's capital, records the dedication of the image by *mahamandalacarya paramaguru* Rahularuchi

during the reign of king Subhakaradeva-I. Queen Mohinidevi, wife of king Sivakaradeva-II (800-820 CE), the son and successor of Subhakaradeva-I, was also a Saiva by faith and built the Mohini temple at Bhubaneswar. [02.p.113]

Subsequent kings and queens of this dynasty made grants for Buddhist institutions as well as for Hindu temples. The dedication and commitment to Buddhism by these rulers encouraged growth of large number of monastic institutions in Bhaumakara kingdom. These monasteries were the seats of culture and education which taught both religious as well as secular education. In course of time some of the monasteries grew up into famous universities. As torch bearers of the Buddhist culture, these institutions attracted pupils and scholars not only from India but also from many foreign countries. [184.p.210]

Deification of Tara and Manjushri, as reported in Kalasan and Kelurak inscriptions, is considered as rituals of Tantric Buddhism. Kalingga (Ho-ling) in Java was a major centre of Tantra during the eighth century CE. The tantric iconography of mediaeval period preserved in Indonesian National Museum, Jakarta would indicate that the cult had widespread acceptance in the region. Besides Java, the mystic practices of Tantra also flourished in India, Tibet, China, Japan, and other Southeast Asian countries with active patronage of the ruling class. According to Prof. P. V. Bapat, 1956, the chief editor of “*2500 years of Buddhism*” published by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Tantra was evolved in Odisha in 720 CE, and then spread to other countries. [184.p.212] As discussed earlier, an essay “*Tantrism in China*,” published in the ‘*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*’, 1945 and republished in ‘*Tantric Buddhism in East Asia*’, edited by Richard K. Payne, 2006; acknowledges Subhakarasimha, a former member of Bhaumakara dynasty of Odisha, as the founder preceptor of ‘*Tantrayana Buddhism*’ in China at the beginning of the eighth century CE.

Kalingga's Hegemony under Sailendas

During the eighth century CE, under Sailendra period Kalingga (Ho-ling) established its supremacy over the neighbouring seas and coasts and secured control over the commercial route of the Archipelago. It expanded to a much greater regime by subjugating 28 border countries. Sailendas as the paramount monarch extended their authority over Sumatra, Malaya Peninsula and other countries of

Southeast Asia with the north border touching Cambodia. Srivijaya formed a part of this mighty empire. Wolters, 1967, reports that missions from Srivijaya to China continued from 702 CE to 742 CE but stopped thereafter. Cessation of mission in the second half of the eighth century would explain that Srivijaya had come under the suzerainty of Kalingga (Ho-ling). The affluence of Kalingga has been displayed in the amazing architecture and the splendid object d'art of Borobudur. In the words of Bo-Kyung Kim, 2007, Chandi Borobudur 'has been looked upon as testimony of the powerful Buddhist Sailendra because of its huge size, unique architectural form, artistic achievements, and, as seen in the many relief carvings, deep understanding of Buddhist textual sources.' [184.p.204-205]



Fig 7. Chandi Borobudur

The monument is the largest Buddhist archaeological site in the world and has been listed as UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1991 CE. Based on the interpretation of carved letter style on a relief hidden behind the foot of Borobudur Temple, the construction period has been estimated to sometimes between mid-eighth century and mid-ninth century. Historians presume that Maharaja Samaratunga of Sailendra dynasty, who ruled from 782 to 812 CE, built this elaborately stone carved Buddhist shrine.

During the eighth and the ninth century many more Buddhist and Hindu temples were built in close proximity to this magnificent monument. Sailendra period in Kalingga (Ho-ling) was a great political and economic power to be reckoned with. [184.p.206]

Culmination of Kalingga Period in Indonesia

The political and religious history of Java after first quarter of the ninth century CE tells a different story. The name 'Ho-ling'

disappears from Chinese annals, the last being in 818 CE. The New Book of Tang reports missions arriving from She-po (Java) from 820 CE onwards. It would indicate that the name of the island country has been changed from Kalingga to Java, sometimes between 818 and 820 CE. Two epigraphic records- one from India and the other from Java- mention dynastic change in Java, Buddhist Sailendras being replaced by the Saivite family that had earlier shifted to east.

The Indian source is the 'Nalanda Copper-plate' inscription that was issued by the Buddhist king Sriman Devapaladeva of Pal dynasty from the victorious palace at Munger in Bihar. The charter has been published in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, (1923-24), by Archaeological Survey of India, 1983.

The inscription records that Devapaladeva, at the request of the illustrious Balaputradeva, the ruler of Suvarnnadvipa, made through an ambassador, granted five villages, for the increase of merit and fame of his parents and himself for the sake of income toward the blessed Lord Buddha, for various comforts of the revered *bbikshus* of the four quarters and for writing the *dharma-ratnas* or Buddhist texts and for the upkeep of the monastery built at Nalanda at the instance of the said king of Suvarnnadvipa. [183.p.311]

The charter supplies, though unfortunately too meagre, an account of king Balaputradeva, at whose instance the endowment was made, giving also some information regarding his ancestry. It is mainly in this connection that this document is especially interesting and possesses considerable international value. Line 37 of the charter, reproduced below, informs that Maharaja Balaputradeva was the lord (ruler) of Suvarnnadvipa.

सुव[र्ण]द्वोपाधिपम्[हा]राजश्चोवा(वा)लपुत्रदेवेन

Line 37, [183.p.322]

Verse 24 (line 52) of the inscription clarifies that the last king of Sailendra family (*Sailendra-vamsa-tilaka*) that ruled Java (*Yavabumi-pala*) was famed for his command over other princes and whose name was conformable to the illustrious tormentor of brave foes (*Sri Viravairimathan*). Line 52, Verse 24, [183.p.323]

आसीदशेषनरपालः --शैलेन्द्रवश्तिलको यथभूमिपालः श्रीवीरवैरिमथन

Verse 27 to 31 (line 56-61) describes that the son of the said king was a foremost warrior in battle-fields (*Samaragravira*) and whose fame was equal to that earned by *Yudhisthira*, *Parasara*, *Bhimasena*,

Karna and *Arjuna*. As is Paulomi to Indra, Rati to Kamadeva, Sailasuta (Parvati) to Siva and Lakshmi to Vishnu so was Tara the queen consort to this valiant king. She was the daughter of the great ruler of the lunar race and resembled the Buddhist goddess Tara herself. Illustrious Balaputra was the son of the king (*Samaragravira*) from the Queen Tara. [183.p.326] The narrative of the Nalanda Copper-plate inscription explicates that the grandfather of the Suvarnnadvipa ruler Balaputradeva was the last Sailendra king of Java.

The Javanese source that provides the clue on expiration of Sailendra rule in Java is the “Sivagrha inscription” of 856 CE. The charter was issued by Dyah Lokapala (Rakai Kayuwangi) at the end of Rakai Pikatan’s reign. It is composed of two parts. The first part (Verse 6-13) is written in praise of the king, “Jatiningrat”. It speaks of him as a Great King of excellent devotion who protected the country of Java. He fought a fierce battle and came out victorious. He was a Saivite in contrast to the queen (a Buddhist). The second part (verse 14-29) describes construction of a grand temple complex dedicated to Lord Siva called *Siva-grha*, the abode of Siva. It also mentions a public water project by changing the course of the river flowing nearby. [184.p.221]



Fig 9. Prasasti Sivagrha

**PrasastiSivagrha as displayed in the National Museum of Indonesia,
Jakarta, under the inventory number D.28**

King Jatiningrat, identified as Rakai Pikatan, belonged to the Saivite dynasty of early Mataram group established by heroic Sanjaya. They were pushed to the east when Sailendras occupied the Kalingga in Java. On regaining their military strength and after a yearlong preparation, Pikatan waged a war and overthrew Sailendras from Java. He founded the temple, the abode of Lord Siva, maybe as a counterpart of Borobudur to celebrate the victory.

The grand temple complex referred to in the inscription corresponds to the ninth century Siva temple complex at Prambanan in Central Java, popularly known as Roro Jonggrang (Loro Jonggrang or Rara Jonggrang) temple. The main temples in the compound are dedicated to *Trinatha*, the three supreme Gods of Hindu pantheon, the Siva, the Brahma and the Vishnu. The tallest and the most important central shrine is the Siva temple with the Brahma temple at its south and Vishnu temple at its north. The respective *Vahanas* (carrier of the Lords), the Nandi (Bull) for Siva, Hamsa (Swan) for Brahma and Garuda for Vishnu have been positioned in smaller temples facing the abodes of their Lords. The temples are adorned with panels of narrative bas-reliefs telling the story of Hindu epics, *Ramayana* and *Bhagavata Purana*.



Fig 10. Prambanan temple

Both the inscriptions discussed do not mention the name of the Sailendra king with whom the war was fought and the year of their flight from Java. Historians date the Nalanda Copperplate inscription of Devapaladeva to 825 CE. This charter does not mention the reign of Balaputradeva's father either in Java or in Suvarnnadvipa. It seems Balaputradeva's father, whom he calls a foremost warrior (*Samaragravirar*) fought the losing battle sometime between 818-820 CE and moved to Srivijaya, putting an end to Kalingga hegemony in Java. However in Javanese inscriptions of later period, whenever

mention is made of trade communities of Indian origin, Kalinga (Kling) heads the list among different ethnic groups. [24.p.153]

After the culmination of Kalingga kingdom of Java in early ninth century CE and the flight of Sailendras to Sumatra, central Java gradually lost its importance, and by the tenth century CE, its place was taken by eastern Java as the seat of political authority. [29.p.248] Sindok, the first ruler in eastern Java came to power sometime between 927 and 929 CE.

In the meantime an independent royal dynasty- that of the Varmadevas- rises in Bali. Its members have left evidence of their activities and of various foundations in numerous charters. One of them, perhaps the first, named Kesari Varmadeva, left an inscription engraved on a round pillar which now stands in Sanur on the south coast of Bali. [96.p.13] It is known as the Belanjong pillar inscription of 914 CE and describes the king's military campaigns and victories beyond Bali in tenth century.

A century later Airlangga, son of Udayana of Bali and the son-in-law of the Javanese king, was formally consecrated to the throne of his father-in-law (Java) in 1019 CE with the title of Sri Lokesvara Dharma-vamsa Airlangga Anantavikramottungadeva. By a series of fights, he brought the whole of the island under his control and once more restored its prosperity. His records contain a long list of foreigners who used to come to Java for purposes of trade or other peaceful pursuits of life. The list includes Kling or Kalinga, Simhala (Sri Lanka), Dravida, Karnataka, Champa and Kmirs, i.e Khmers of Kambuja. [22.p.50]

Before his death Airlangga divided his kingdom into two parts and bestowed them upon his two sons. This partition of the kingdom gave rise to two states in Eastern Java which continued to divide the country for a pretty long time. [29.p.276] However, by late thirteenth century CE, founding of the Hindu-Buddhist Majapahit kingdom restored the unity of Java with an imperial status. During fourteenth century it dominated other kingdoms in the southern Malay Peninsula, Borneo, Sumatra, Bali, Kalimantan, eastern Indonesia, and the Philippines. It was considered to be one of the greatest and most powerful empires in the history of Indonesia and Southeast Asia.

However by fifteenth century Islamic creed gradually got a footing in Java. Various theories have been projected regarding the

arrival of Islam in Indonesia. According to some, Islam arrived directly from Arabia as early as the ninth century while others credits Sufi travelers for bringing Islam in the twelfth or thirteenth century, either from Gujarat in India or from Persia.

Initially some trader community settling in coastal areas accepted Islam. They began to assimilate with the local population and soon new Muslim communities were created. Many Muslims inter-married with royalties, converting a number of ruling chiefs and high officials to adopt the new faith. Thus grew up a small but influential community of Muslims in Java, who tried to oust the Hindu king as he steadily refused to give up his ancestral religion. The Hindu king fought bravely against his own kith and kin but eventually was forced to leave Java and seek shelter in the neighbouring island of Bali. The royal family, the aristocracy, and a considerable element of the well-to-do classes who still adhered to the Hindu faith followed the king to Bali. [22.p.52]

Hinduism of Bali

The island of Bali, lying immediately east of Java, has the unique distinction of maintaining predominantly the Hindu culture from very ancient period down to modern times. It is the only part of Indonesia where, at least to a considerable extent, Islam has failed to penetrate.

Balinese Hinduism, called Agama Hindu Dharma, though originated from early Indian theological concept, has retained its originality and distinctive ethnicity. The indigenous beliefs form the backbone of the rituals of the local community. They have introduced some new elements in to the Hinduism and also retained some old features dimmed or lost in India. [101.p.163] Like Java they follow a blend of Saivism and Buddhism, but Saivite Hinduism is more prevalent. John Crawfurd, 1820, the Late British Resident at the Court of the Sultan of Java; has furnished an account of ascendancy of Saivism. The Brahmins of Bali have informed him that 'a few years previous to the Islamic conversion of the Javanese, there arrived in Java, from Kalinga, a number of Brahmins, of the sect of Siva, who received protection from Browijoyo, the last Hindu sovereign of Majapahit. Soon after the overthrow of that state, they fled to Bali under their leader Wahu Bahu, and there disseminated their doctrines.' [84.II.p.257]

The worship of Ancestors and spirits forms a major component of Balinese culture. They are treated with respect and feted with

offerings in a small tray made of finely cut pandan leaves in the form of a square, filled with colorful flowers, snacks, sweets, and items preferred by the deceased when they were alive.



Fig 11. Canang Sari

Such offerings, known as *Canang Sari* in Bali, are found either perched on a small shrine or placed on the grounds in front of shops, government offices, etc.

Spirits of ancestors are also invoked through certain persons, bringing them into a state of trance by incense, rhythmic movements, chants or other means. This is often followed by ritual dances, which proved to the people that the soul of the invoked ancestor had taken possession of the body of the conjurer, whose actions and uttered words are then regarded as the actions and utterances of the ancestor. [96.p.03]

The Jagatnatha in Bali

Pura Jagatnatha

In both Odisha and Bali Lord Jagannatha (Jagatnatha in Bali) is not only very popular but revered as the almighty and all pervading. The Hindus of Bali call the temples as “Pura”.



The Jagatnatha temple, constructed by the government to promote local worship, is dedicated to the Hindu god *Sanghyang Widi Wasa*. Locals worship the lord as “*Asintiya*”; (*Achintya* in Sanskrit), the single supreme God, the center and creator of the universe and from whom comes the Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. The temples are designed to be symbolic representation of the Cosmos.



Fig 12. Jagatnatha Temple at Denpasar City, Bali

The God *Sanghyang Widi Wasa* is represented at the center. There is a gold statue of him sitting atop the highest spire in the temple.



**Fig 13. Statue of *Sanghyang Widi Wasa*
 (“*Asintiya*” or *Achintya* in Sanskrit)**

Kalinga Influence

The Indonesian scholar, Dr. I. G. P. Phalgunadi, who conducted fieldwork in Odisha, stayed with Odia families and studied the Odisha (Kalinga) culture; in his article “*Hinduism in Bali (Indonesia)*” published in ‘*Kalinga-Indonesian Cultural Relation*’ pp. 127-138, by the

Odishan Institute of Maritime and Southeast Asian Studies, 2007, has illustrated the impact of Kalinga tradition in Java and Bali. Phalgunadi says, ‘the Brahmana Odia emigrants are still called “Brahmana Buddha Kalinga” by the Balinese. It indicates that emigrants were from Kalinga (Odisha). [27.p.128] There is also a special custom in South Bali like that of the boat floating ritual of Odisha. The people of Odisha used to float a replica of boat with lamp, fruit and beetle nut, in the nearest water body, on the full moon day of November to commemorate their Kalinga maritime tradition. Whereas in Bali, during the *Masakapam Kepesih* ceremony, every Balinese Hindu child floats a tiny vessel into the sea along with a lamp and fruit-offerings when he/she is six months old. Perhaps this is a custom born out of the belief of sending the child to the ancestors in the original homeland of the Kalinga country in India. [27.p.129]

Dr. Phalgunadi observed lots of similarity in the food habits of Odisha and Bali. In Bali, locals are fond of leafy vegetables, especially the young leaves of the drum-stick tree. Like Odisha, they add mashed coconut in cooking leafy vegetables. Balinese love to eat cooked banana-flowers and the core-stem of the banana plant, and use banana leaves to partake the food as in Odisha. They prepare and eat cakes made of rice-flour with stuffing like those prepared in Odisha. Hindus in Bali worship a knotted bundle of paddy-sheaves as Shridevi, the goddess of crops or harvesting, who is worshipped with the same connotation as Lakshmi, in the month of Margasira (November-December) in Odisha. Goddess Shri Lakshmi receives regular propitiation when the harvest is over. Lakshmi is regarded as the real owner of the rice fields. In west Java this goddess is known as Devi Pohachi, the Goddess of rice. [27.p.130]



Fig 14. Bundle of Paddy-sheaves worshipped as Goddess Lakshmi in Odisha

Balinese culture has much affinity with the Odishan culture. The special type of tie and dye method of colouring the threads known as “ikat” or Ikkat’ for producing multi-coloured patterns of handloom textile is a household cottage industry in Maniabandha village of Cuttack district and other places in Odisha. Similar practice of Ikat as cottage industry is found in Balinese villages. Many families of the craft village Tenganan of Bali weave such double/single ikat design.

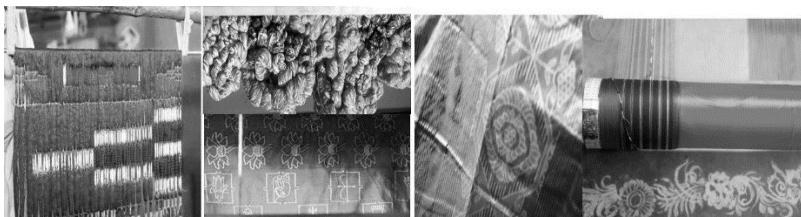


Fig 15. Ikat in Maniabandha village, Odisha



Fig 16. Ikat in Tengananvillage, Bali

The unique paintings of Semaris painter, Kamasan, Klungklung, Bali is very much comparable with the *Patachitra* paintings of Raghurajpur village, Puri district, Odisha. Both in Bali and Odisha,

these paintings are made on cotton cloth by expert painters using colours prepared from natural materials.



Fig 17. Kamasan style Paintings of Klungklung, Bali

The themes of paintings are based on Hindu mythological narratives and cultural practices. These thousand years old artworks were used to decorate temples, pavilions, especially during temple ceremonies and festivals. It is also preferred as a decorative in the houses of the aristocracy and as souvenirs for tourists.

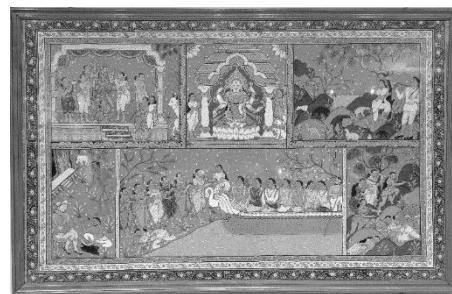


Fig 18. Patachitra paintings of Raghurajpur, Odisha, depicting welcome ceremony of Kalinga merchants on their return from Bali

The other salient feature of a common heritage is the old writings on palm-leaf with an iron stylus and the ancient Balinese manuscripts are all in palm-leaves as are the old Odia manuscripts. The practice is even maintained now in Bali and Odisha by the Hindu Pundits.

These are only few samples to elucidate the Kalinga-Bali relationship that dates back to hoary antiquity. But the people of Odisha continue to commemorate generations after generations their Kalinga tradition of “voyage to Bali” each year as ritualistic ceremony and festivals.

CHAPTER 10

Kalinga in Royalty and Religion of Sri Lanka

The history of Sri Lanka dates back to proto-historic period. The native scriptures- the *Mahanama*, the *Dathavamsa*; Pali chronicles- the *Cularavamsa*, the *Dipavamsa*; and a large collection of epigraphic records both inside and outside the country provide interesting account of the history of Sri Lanka from about the sixth century BCE. The island nation occupied a strategic position so far as inter-oceanic commerce was concerned. It was a meeting place of merchants and sailors coming from the Eastern as well as the Western Sea. [113.p.118] Its commercial contact with India, the Malay Peninsula, Indo-China and the countries of the East prospered since very early date.

The maritime kingdom of Kalinga had age-long interaction with Sri Lanka in the sphere of religious, cultural and political relationship. Sri Lankan literary and epigraphic sources attest direct migration from Kalinga, some of which became permanent and merged with the native population.

Sinhabura and the Sinhala Race

Sri Lankan historical records begin with the arrival of prince Vijaya along with his seven hundred followers, from Sinhabura (Simhapura or Singhapura), the city established by his father Sinhabahu. The legendary lineage of Vijaya as described in Sri Lankan chronicles has been briefly discussed earlier in chapter two. But the geographical location of prince Vijay's native place Sinhabura (Simhapura) has been variously interpreted by different scholars, of course, without any authentic epigraphic evidences. Whereas, a number of inscriptions of medieval Sri Lanka endorse the presence of Sinhabura in Kalinga. The Slab-Inscription of King Vijayabahu-II, placed near the ancient irrigation canal at Polonnaruwa, and published in *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, 1912-1927 pp. 179-184, explicitly mentions that prince Vijaya and his father king Sinhabahu were from

Kalinga. The exact details of the inscription as recorded in lines 8 to 16 of side 'A' are reproduced below:

Transcript

Side-A, Lines 8-16

- 8 Śrīmat-vū mahat (edī Simha-vaṁśāti Kā-
 - 9 -liṅga-)cakravarttin-vahansege va-
 - 10 -ṁśayehi upan **Simha-Bāhu**-rajapā-va-
 - 11 -hanseṭa jeṣṭha¹ putravū Kāliṅgayan
 - 12 Laṅkāvaṭa bāsā yakṣa praṭaya-koṭa manuṣya-
 - 13 vāsa-koṭa ekātapatra-rājya kaṭa **Vijaya-rā-**
 - 14 -jayan-vahansege vaṁśa-paramparāyen
 - 15 ā Lak-diva ēkarā(jja²) kaṭa **Parākrama-Bā-**
 - 16 -hu-vat-himiyān-vahansē sva-vaṁśaya
- [186.p.183]

These lines were translated by the author Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe as under:

"His Majesty king Simha-Bahu was born of the Kalinga Cakravarti family of the illustrious and very (proud Simha race). His eldest son, king Vijaya, came to Lanka from the Kalinga country, destroyed the Yaksas, and making [the Island] habitable for men ruled it under one canopy of dominion. From his lineage descended His Majesty Parakrama-Bahu, the Lord of the soil, who also brought the Island of Lanka under [his] single sovereignty." [186.p.183-184]

King Nissamka Malla, who ascended the throne of Sri Lanka in 1187 CE, is more assertive on this score. He has the credit of issuing maximum number of inscriptions in the country. Most of these records mention that he was born in Simhapura of Kalinga in the lineage of King Vijaya, the founder of Sinhala race.

Of all his lithic records, "Galpota", meaning the 'Stone-Book' is the largest that provides more detailed account of the King. Presently, it is preserved in the Sacred Quadrangle at Polonnaruwa by the side of eastern wall of Hetadage (old 'Tooth Relic shrine') and a few yards south-west of the Sathmahal Prasada.



Fig 1. Galpota Slab-Inscription (Stone Book)



Fig 2. The Signboard near the Galpota Slab-Inscription

The weight of the 'Stone-Book' is approximately 15 tons and the dimensions are 26 ft. 8 in. X 4 ft. 7 in. X 1 ft. 9 in. in average. The upper surface is divided into three partitions containing about 4,300 letters in seventy-two lines. [186.p.98] The king has outlined his genealogy some of his policies and the duties and responsibilities of the subjects in this inscription. Part A, lines 2-7 describe his origin and parentage as under:

"King Vijaya, descended from the family of Kalinga Cakravartin, and belonged to the royal line of the Okkaka dynasty. When one thousand seven hundred years had elapsed since this king, protected by the Gods in accordance with the behest of the Buddha, arrived in the Island of Lanka, and destroying the *yaksas* made it an abode for mankind, there was born the great king Siri-Sangabo Kalinga Parakrama-Bahu Viraraja Nissamka-Malla Aprati-Malla in Simhapura in the country of Kalinga in noble Dambadiva [*Jambudvipa*- India], the birth-place of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and Universal monarchs. He was born of the womb of the great queen Parvati Mahadevi unto King Sri Jayagopa, the jewel of the royal line. He grew up in the midst of royal splendour, and being invited by the great king of the Island of Lanka, his senior kinsman, to rule over the Island of Lanka which is his by right of lineal succession of kings, he landed in Lanka in great state." [186.p.115]

These epigraphic records and many others clearly justify that prince Vijaya came from Sinhapura (Simhapura) of Kalinga and his father belonged to the 'Kalinga Cakravarti' family. According to Sri Lankan chronicles, Vijaya established the 'Sinhala race' (the 'Sinhala Jathiya'), and ruled over the country for thirty-eight years. H. M. Mervyn Herath, 1999, in his book *The National Flag and the National Anthem of Sri Lanka* states that prince Vijaya on reaching the island planted the Flag with a lion symbol, kissed the sand and called it 'Thambapani'. [187.p.01]

Simhapura the Capital of Kalinga

Simhapura (Sinhapura) is not only significant from the point of view of Kalinga-Sinhala relationship but also as an important historical city of Kalinga from pre-Christian centuries. It was one of the traditional capitals of Kalinga kings for sometime during the post Kharavela period. [02.p.21] It gained most distinguishable historical fame as the capital of Mathara royal family that ruled Kalinga during the fourth and the fifth century CE. The celebrated scholar Kalidasa declared the king of Kalinga as the “Lord of the Ocean” during this period. The lineage of the Mathara kings of Kalinga is presented below:

Name of the King	Period
Visakhavarman	350-360 CE
Umavarman	360-395 CE
Sankaravarman	395-400 CE
Saktivarman	400-420 CE
Ananta Saktivarman	420-450 CE
Chandavarman	450-460 CE
Prabhanjanavarman	460-480 CE
Nanda Pravanjanavarman	480-498 CE [02.p.68]

As discussed earlier a number of copper plate inscriptions of the rulers of the Mathara Dynasty were issued from the capital city Simhapura. Some of those are reiterated here.

Towards the end of the fourth century CE Maharaja Umavarman was the first great ruler of the Mathara dynasty and with him Kalinga entered upon a long and vigorous political career and her influence was felt in the history of Eastern India and Deccan. [02.p.65] He issued an edict from Simhapura as the “lord of Kalinga”, that granted the village of ‘Brihatproshtha’ to the Brahmana Haridatta. [119.p.04]

Maharaja Anantasaktivarman succeeded his father Saktivarman in circa 420 CE. [02.p.66] He issued the ‘Sakunaka Grant’ (The Madras Museum Plate) from the city of Simhapura by granting the village in favour of two Brahmana-brothers, namely Nagasarman and Durggasarman, who beloged to the Katyayanasa *gotra* and the Taittiriya, school of Brahmachaarin. [120.p.19]

Maharaja Chandavarman, who ascended the throne in 450 CE, issued the Bobbili and Komarti copper plate grants in 4th and 6th

years of his reign, from Simhapura. Chandavarman probably had a premature death in about 460 CE when he was succeeded by Prabhanjanavarman, another son of Saktivarman. [02.p.67]

Maharaja Prabhanjanavarman also issued a grant from the victorious city of Simhapura. This copperplate charter in Sanskrit language, known as “Ningondi Grant of Prabhanjanavarman”, has been deciphered by Dr. D. C. Sircar and published in *Epigraphia Indica* Vol.XXX, pp.112-18. The king is described in the grant as the lord of the entire Kalinga country who, the ornament of his family, exalted the fame of the Mathara dynasty. He made the grant of a locality called Ningondi in favour of some Brahmanas belonging to different *gotras*.

These epigraphic records of both Sri Lanka and India provide substantive historical evidence that prince Vijaya and later many other members of royal families migrated from Simhapura of Kalinga to Sri Lanka and become a part of the Sinhalese dynasty.

Kalinga Royal Families in Sri Lanka

According to the traditional chronicles of Sri Lanka and the records of inscriptions, the Sinhalese monarchy started with the settlement of immigrants from Kalinga who accompanied prince Vijaya in the sixth century BCE. *Dipavamsa* and *Mahavamsa* recount the date of establishment of the kingdom by prince Vijaya in 543 BCE, which he named as Tambapanni. These literary sources of Sri Lanka mention King Vijaya to have ruled the country from 543 BCE till his death in 505 BCE. The dynasty founded by King Vijaya, referred to as the “Great Dynasty”, ruled for 609 years (from 543 BCE to 66 CE) in Kingdom of Tambapanni, Kingdom of Upatissa Nuwara and finally the Anuradhapura Kingdom.

The association of royal houses of Kalinga with that of Sri Lanka reappears again in the third century CE. Chronicle *Dathavamsa*, describes the cordial relationship between Sri Lanka King Mahasena with Kalinga king Guhasiva. King Mahasena succeeded to the throne on the death of his brother Jetthatissa in 274 CE and ruled Sri Lanka for 27 years. He is considered as one of the noble rulers of the country. Donald Obeyesekere, 1911 opines that King Mahasena, has deputed an embassy to Kalinga King Guhasiva with a magnificent present of pearls, diamonds, and other precious things as a friendly gesture. [185.p.70]. This intimacy between both the kings has resulted in

transfer of the sacred tooth relic of Gautama Buddha from Kalinga to Sri Lanka.

Continuity of such amiable association is again reported in the *Mahavamsa*, during the reign of king Agrabodhi-II in Anuradhapura kingdom sometime in the early seventh century CE. As per the record of the chronicle, a king of Kalinga, after being defeated in a war had taken shelter in the island with his queen and had gone through the ceremony of world renunciation under the celebrated Buddhist teacher Jyotihala. Though the identity of the king is still unknown, it is quite probable that he was a Buddhist, who was ruling over some parts of Kalinga and was defeated by ‘Sasanka’, the king of Gauda. As Sasanka had a fanatical hatred for Buddhism, this king might have chosen to leave his country to save his life and religion. His escape to Sri Lanka and acceptance by the king there, provide a glimpse of good political relation that existed between these kingdoms. [28.p.560]

By the second half of the eleventh century CE a member of the Sinhala royal family named prince Kitti (Keethi or Keerthi) could successfully reunite the country after recovering the Chola-occupied territory of Polonnaruwa (Polonnaruva) kingdom. He took the coronation name as Vijayabahu-I. This king proved himself to be one of the greatest generals of the island and therefore is also known as ‘Vijayabahu the Great’. During his reign, he reestablished Buddhism in Sri Lanka and repaired much of the damage caused to infrastructure during the wars. He married ‘Lilavati’, the daughter of Jagatipala of Kannauj. He also married Tilokasundari, a princess from Kalinga, probably for political reasons to strengthen ties with the Kalingas. Along with the queen three of her kinsmen known as Madhukannava, Bhimaraj and Balakkara came from Kalinga and were assigned important positions in the king’s court.

Vikramabahu-I, the son of king Vijayabahu-I and the Queen Tilokasundari, was chosen as the prince successor (Maha Arya Pada) and ruled the Ruhuna on behalf of the king during his uncle king Jayabahu-I’s reign. After the death of king Jayabahu-I, in spite of conflict and conspiracy Vikramabahu-I succeeded to gain the throne of the country in the early twelfth century. He married princess Sundari of Kalinga origin, who became Sundaramahadevi, as the queen of Sri Lanka. She has left an inscription in a cave, at a place called ‘Udumbaragiri’ (Dimbulagala), which she renamed as ‘Kalingalana’ or the Kalinga-cave, after the land of her birth. [28.p.561]

Gajabahu-II, son of Vikramabahu-I and Sundaramahadevi, succeeded his father and ruled till 1153 CE.

Parakramabahu-I, a powerful cousin of Gajabahu-II and a grandson of Queen Tilokasundari from her daughter's side, was crowned as the king of Polonnaruwa in 1153 CE. He was also known as 'Parakramabahu the Great' and ruled the country up to 1186 CE. He oversaw the expansion and beautification of his capital, constructed large reservoirs with extensive irrigation systems, maintained trade relations with foreign countries, built hospitals, social welfare units, reformed Buddhist practices and reorganised the country's army. However, towards the last part of his long reign Parakramabahu had to face the court intrigue. So, he invited his sister's son from Simhapura of Kalinga, brought him up like a son in his palace and prepared him for his future role as the king of Sri Lanka. This prince, who was a great scholar, succeeded Parakramabahu, as Vijayabahu-II. After a rule of only one year (1186-87 CE), he was assassinated by 'Mahendra-VI', another prince of the island. Being the first ruler of purely Kalinga origin, Vijayabahu's short reign is conspicuous in the history of Sri Lanka. In his inscription at Polonnaruwa which has been discussed as "The Slab-Inscription of King Vijayabahu-II" in previous pages, he has clearly stated that he was from Simhapura of Kalinga and was summoned by Parakramabahu to Sri Lanka. [28.p.562]

The violent death of Vijayabahu-II was avenged by Nissamka Malla, the *uparaja* or sub-king of the period, who killed Mahendra-VI, after five days of his reign and became the king of the island. Like Vijayabahu-II, he was a prince of Kalinga, who being invited by the great king and his senior kinsman came to Sri Lanka. He ruled for only 9 years from 1187 to 1196 CE. Within a short period of his reign, Nissamka Malla achieved a great deal for the people of Sri Lanka. He constructed large number of monuments, religious as well as secular, in his capital Polonnaruwa, which even exist to-day. He toured the whole island several times, probably to be closer to the people and introduced administrative reforms, whenever necessary. He was proud to express his Kalinga origin and it was like a status-symbol for him. He renamed Polonnaruwa as 'Kalinga-pura'. The park and the garden in the city were also named 'Kalingavana' and 'Kalingodyana' respectively. [28.p.562]

Nissamka Malla was a great champion of Buddhist faith. As a king he constructed magnificent Stupas, Relic temples, Image houses

and generously donated for monastic establishments. His inscription in the Dambulla cave temple, placed to the right immediately at the entrance of the courtyard, gives an account of his pious deeds for refurbishment of Buddhism. The lines 20-25 record that he reconciled the monks of three Nikayas that had been separated for a long time, honoured the doctrines of the Buddha as contained in the Tripitaka and promoted the faith. He repaired and restored the ruined Viharas and Dagabas, built many Viharas in Anuradhapura, Devi-nuvara, Kalani, Miyuguna, etc. and made donations of vast riches. He caused the statues of the Dambulla cave to be coated with gold lining, celebrated a great *puja* at a cost of seven lacs of money, and named the temple as '*Svarna-Giri-Guba*', the golden rock-cave. [184.p.266]

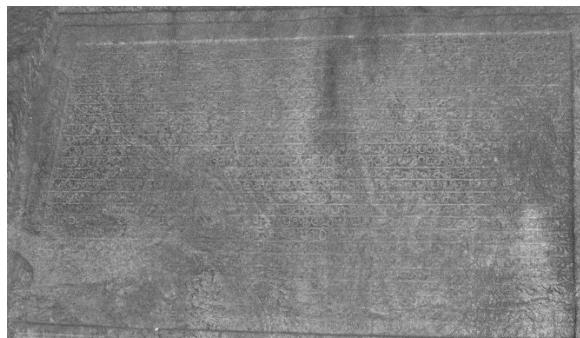


Fig 3. Dambulla Rock Inscription of Kirti Nissanka Malla

Proclaiming himself as devout custodian of Buddhism, he condemned vehemently the aspirations of persons of other faith to rule that country. In his Slab-Inscription placed at the North-Gate of the ruined Citadel at Polonnaruwa, the King appeals to the people:

"Over the Island of Ceylon, which belongs to the religion of the Buddha, non-Buddhist princes from other countries should not be chosen. Those who join them and cause disturbances shall be called traitors." [184.p.267]



Fig 4. Slab-Inscription at the North entrance to the Citadel, Polonnaruva

The contents of the above charter as mentioned by the Department of Archaeology, Ministry of National Heritage, Sri Lanka is reproduced below:

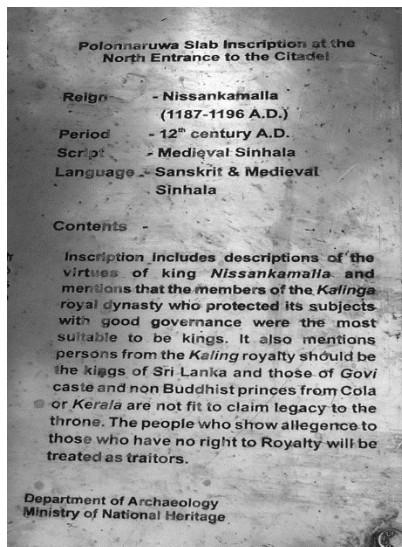


Fig 5. contents of Slab-Inscription at the North entrance

In his inscriptions he is honoured with long epithets such as ‘Sri Sanghabodhi Parakrama-Bahu Viraraja Kirti-Nissamka-Malla Aprati Malla Simhapuresvara Lankesvara Kalinga Parakrama-Bahu Cakravartin’ and is admired as the illustrious king, distinguished by the possession of a multitude of virtues, liberality, truthfulness, heroism, and the like. Eminent historians of Sri Lanka have extolled the achievements of Nissamka Malla as generous and memorable like that of the king Vijayabahu-I and Parakramabahu-I. After

'Parakramabahu the Great' (Parakramabahu-I), Nissamka Malla was the only Polonnaruwa king to rule over the whole island of Sri Lanka to give the country a brief decade of order and stability. It is yet to be known how and under what circumstances this king died only after a rule of nine years. But after him there was a renewal of political dissension within the kingdom.

Virabahu-II, the son of Nissamka Malla, who came to the throne after his father's death, was murdered after rule of one night. His successor, Vikramabahu-II, younger brother of Nissamka Malla, could rule for nearly three months and was killed by a nephew called Chodaganga. Again, Chodaganga was deposed after a reign of nine months by the general who installed queen Lilavati, the wife of Parakramabahu-I, as the new ruler. This queen adorned the throne for about three years up to 1200 CE. However some of the members of her court decided to invite Sahas Malla, a step brother of Nissamka Malla, from Kalinga, and anointed him as the king on the 23rd August, 1200 CE. This king was deposed after a rule of two years and Kalyanavati, the first queen of Nissamka Malla was raised to the throne. She ruled for about six years from 1202 to 1208 CE. But after her rule, again there was confusion, often accompanied by court intrigues and violence, which continued unabated. [28.p.563] The Kalinga dynasty could not maintain their stability due to opposition of a faction within the country. The ensuing political instability inevitably attracted other inside and outside forces to seize the power.

Kalinga's Contribution to Sri Lankan Buddhism

The majority of people of Sri Lanka, particularly the Sinhalese, practice Buddhism. There are people practicing other religions such as Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. The constitution of the country entitles every person to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion, including the freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief of his choice. However, Article 9 of the constitution states: "The Republic of Sri Lanka shall give to Buddhism the 'foremost place' and accordingly it shall be the duty of the State to protect and foster the Buddha Sasana while assuring to all religions the rights granted by Articles 10 and 14(1)(e).

It is estimated that more than seventy percent of people in Sri Lanka traditionally practice Theravada Buddhism. According to chronicles such as the *Mahavamsa* and the *Dipavamsa*, Buddhism was

introduced into the island in the third century BCE on arrival of the mission deputed by Emperor Asoka from India. The mission was led by Asoka's son Mahendra (Mahinda). Later Mahendra (Mahinda) sent for his sister Sanghamitra (Sanghamitta) from Magadha, who was a nun, to start a female Buddhist order.

Emperor Asoka owes his spiritual obligations to the sacrifice of the people of Kalinga. According to his own record engraved on rocks and stone pillars, Asoka states that the sufferings inflicted on people of Kalinga in fighting the brutal war moved him to such remorse that he was drawn towards Buddhism and devoted himself to the propagation of the “dhamma”.

The edict of Emperor Asoka does not mention the cause of the war, the name of the king of Kalinga with whom and where the war was fought. The description of wanton killing of innocent people including the householders, Brahmanas and Sramanas suggests that Asoka led an invasion of Kalinga rather than fighting the battle with the military force. The recorded exceptional severity- one hundred thousand killed; many times that number perished and one hundred and fifty thousand people taken as captives- would rank it as one of the major and bloodiest invasions in the history of the world. The numbers quoted for slaughter, death and deportation certainly do not represent only the army casualties. It seems that the people of Kalinga rose to occasion and offered stiff resistance against brutal strength of Asoka and fought bravely till the end. [184.p.85]

Asoka's invasion of Kalinga constitutes a landmark in the political and cultural history of India. The people of Kalinga not only gave a heroic resistance but demonstrated very high standards of morality that moved the heart of the victor from cruelty to that of an exemplary piety. The edict declares “among whom (the people of Kalinga) are established such virtues as obedience to superior personages, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders and proper courtesy and firm devotion to friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives as well as to slaves and servants.” Asoka learnt the great values and strength of “*Ahimsa*” (Nonviolence) from the people of Kalinga. Perhaps, the world history would find it difficult to cite another example of a brutal campaign ending in a mission of peace for the humanity. [184.p.86]

Asoka, thereafter, devoted to an intense practice of the duties relating to Buddhism and declared in his edicts that ‘my sons and great- grandsons should not think of a fresh conquest by arms as worth achieving, that they should adopt the policy of forbearance and light punishment towards the vanquished even if they conquer a

people by arms, and that they should regard the conquest through Dharma as the true conquest.' With the pledge of inculcating 'Dhamma' in all men throughout his life, he sent missionaries to Sri Lanka, Macedonia, Greece and Syria to spread the message of Buddhism and peace.

Prince Mahendra (Mahinda) the first-born son of Emperor Asoka from his wife and Empress Devi and Princess Sanghamitra (Sanghamitta) were ordained into the Theravada Buddhism Order by their preceptor Dhammapala. With their dedicated perseverance to Dhamma they became Arhat (Arahant) and were deputed to Sri Lanka to propagate the Law. According to *Mahavamsa*, they arrived in Sri Lanka during the reign of Devanampiya Tissa of Anuradhapura (307–267 BCE). Arahant Mahinda converted King Tissa to Buddhism who helped build the first Buddhist stupas and communities. Tissa donated a royal park in the city to the Buddhist community, which was the beginning of the Mahavihara tradition. Arahant Sanghamitta brought a sapling of the Bodhi tree of Buddha Gaya (Bodh Gaya) to Sri Lanka. She also established the Order of Nuns in Sri Lanka. The Sapling of the Bodhi tree, known as Jaya Sri Maha Bodhi was planted in the Mahameghavana Park in Anuradhapura by the King Devanampiya Tissa.

From this period onwards, Sri Lankan kings have played a major role in the maintenance and revival of the Buddhist institutions of the island. There are a number of caves from early period that contain numerous Brahmi inscriptions which record gifts to Buddhist Sanghas by the kings and lay devotees.

However, Kalinga continued to contribute to the cause of Buddhism and appease the devotional aspirations of Buddhist people of Sri Lanka. The ever-echoing religio-cultural mission of Mahendra and Sanghamitra that successfully instituted the faith was augmented and amplified by the courageous and also hazardous expedition of Princess Hemamala and prince Dantakumar, the daughter and son-in-law of Kalinga King Guhasiva.

Transfer of Sacred Relic of the Buddha from Kalinga to Sri Lanka

Sri Dalada Maligawa or the temple of the Sacred Tooth Relic, located in the royal palace complex of Kandy in Sri Lanka, houses the 'Tooth Relic' of Gautama Buddha, which is considered as an object of great veneration by the Sinhalese people. Since ancient times, the relic has played an important role in local politics because it is believed that whoever holds the relic holds the governance of the country.

Safeguarding the relic was the responsibility of the Kings. Therefore, reigning monarchs built the tooth relic temple quite close to their royal residences.



Fig 6. Temple 'Sri Dalada Maligawa' at Kandy

Sri Lankan scripture *Datha Dhātu Vamsa* describes that the sacred relic has come from Kalinga in the fourth century CE. The chronicle recounts that after the death of Sakyamuni (Gautama Buddha) his body was placed in a coffin and cremated on a pyre of fragrant wood. The ashes and bones were subsequently gathered by a Brahmin named *Drona* and was distributed amongst the King Ajatashatru of Magadha, the Licchavi rulers of Vaisali, the Buliyas of Allakappa, an influential Brahmin of Vethadipa; the Mallas of Kusinagara and Pava; the Koliyas of Koligramma and the Sakyas of Kapilavastu. However, the left canine tooth of the Lord was retrieved from the funeral pyre by *Arahat Khema* and was handed over to Kalinga king Brahmadatta. Brahmadatta built a stupa to worship the sacred relic in his capital city that was named 'Dantapura', the 'City of Tooth Relic'. His son and successor Kasiraja and grandson Sunanda continued to worship the relic with great reverence. For generations the 'Relic' continued to be revered in Kalinga till the reign of King Guhasiva.

There were repeated attacks on Kalinga by the envious kings to get hold of the sacred relic. Once, the prince of Malwa came with a powerful army to seize the relic. Camping near the city he sent a message to the king to either surrender the tooth-relic or fight the war. Guhasiva called for his daughter Hemamala and son-in-law Danta Kumar and revealed his heart to him in utter agony:

“Whilst my body lasts, I shall not give up the relic to another. Should I not be able to conquer them, take the tooth-relic, adored by gods and men; and assuming the disguise of a Brahman, go to the island Sri Lanka

(Sinhala). King Mahasena of that country, a dear friend of mine, devoted to the service of the two lotus-feet of Buddha, coveting even the water touched by a relic, sent me different kinds of gems as presents. That king, ever wise, is able to honour the tooth-relic of Sugata."

Fighting the war valiantly, Guhasiva died in the battlefield. Hearing the loss, Danta Kumar fled with the relic along with his wife Hemamala dressed as wandering Brahmin ascetics. Hemamala concealed the relic in the lock of her matted hair and the couple proceeded to Sri Lanka. Enroute they went through a variety of vicissitudes, but could overcome all the obstacles by the grace of the Buddha.

They landed in Sri Lankan coast in the ninth reignal year of King Siri Meghavanna (301-328 CE), the son of King Mahasena, of Anuradhapura Kingdom and handed over the tooth relic.



Fig 7. Hemamala and Danta Kumar in Sri Lanka

King Siri Meghavanna built a temple for the relic at Anuradhapura. Later, with the change of capital, the relic shifted to the temples at Polonnaruwa and finally to Sri Dalada Maligawa of Kandy, the last princely capital of Sri Lankan royalty. [184.p.71-78]



Fig 8. The Sacred Relic in *Sri Dalada Maligawa at Kandy*

The Sacred Tooth Relic, ever since its arrival became the sacred most national treasure of Sri Lanka. Wherever it was preserved, the place became the centre of pilgrimage for Buddhists from every corner. The value of the Relic was so great that for centuries the kings of Sri Lanka were seen to have identified their fortunes with the intensity of their faith in the Relic. The veneration for the Relic was manifested through the various ceremonies and rituals, practised with great religious zeal. [113.p.128]

The account of the transfer of the Relic from Kalinga to Sri Lanka as described in the *Datha Dhatu Vamsa* possessed more of historical authenticity than mere religious significance.

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Kalinga, an ancient kingdom on the east coast of India, championed the overseas trade in the early years of history and built-up commercial contact with the island countries of Indian Ocean, known as *Dvipantara* in Sanskrit literature. Along with merchandise they carried the Indian cultural element, Hindu-Buddhist religious doctrines and statecraft that culminated in founding prominent Indianised states throughout Southeast Asia.

Some of the modern scholars are attempting to exaggerate the local factor for embracing the Indian cultural and religious element with the intention to denigrate the Kalinga legacy of Southeast Asia. After reading an article of M. Damais in EFEO, 52,1, (1964), pp. 93-141, O.W. Wolters made an astounding statement in his “*Early Indonesian Commerce*”, 1967, p. 337 note 110, that henceforth “Kalinga will disappear from the legends of South-East Asia”. Such tentative theories are put forward without substantive evidences and lacks historical basis; but if repeated without challenge, they are likely to be gradually regarded as historical truths.

In spite of such superfluous statements, the historicity of Indianised states reveal certain elements which carry the indelible marks of their ancient links with Kalinga. The object of this publication is to reveal such elements and demonstrate their origin to Kalinga.



Bijay Kumar Swain, an Environment and Forestry professional served the Odisha Forest Department in various capacities till his superannuation in 2008. After that his inquisitive mind lured him to search for the glorious Kalinga's maritime legacy. Besides the literary source and ritualistic events, not much tangible evidence could be traced in India. Thus he made a point to visit such ancestral locations as described in the Sanskrit inscriptions of those Indianised kingdoms and explore its Kalinga tradition. This is his second publication on Kalinga; the first being “The Kalinga Heritage”, 2018.



AUTHORS PRESS

Publishers of Creative & Scholarly Books

ISBN 978-93-6095-376-8



9 789360 953768

₹ 595 | \$ 30